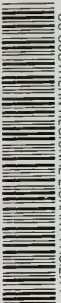


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EARLY INFLUENCE
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GERMAN LITERATURE
IN
AMERICA.

BY
FREDERICK H. WILKENS.

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EARLY INFLUENCE OF GERMAN LITERATURE
IN AMERICA.

Any retrospect of the civilization of the United States during the century now drawing to a close would be incomplete if it neglected to give due recognition to the influence of German culture on the higher artistic and intellectual life of the nation. In the pursuit of knowledge in all its forms, in the cultivation of literature, music, and the arts, the influence of Germany has been deep and inspiring. Any one of these fields offers ample rewards to the student of the cultural relations of the two people. Confining ourselves to literature alone, the relations between Germany and the rich literary and intellectual life of New England during our century are so well known as to form an open chapter in the history of American literature. Since the time when Ticknor and Everett (in 1815) and, following them, many of the greatest intellects of our country sought inspiration at the shrines of German learning, and became prophets of German literature, which they had learned to appreciate, the influence of German culture on our national life has never ceased. German literature, while it was still a privilege of the chosen few who craved new revelations, probably acted upon the hearts with an intensity which has passed away now when its highest efforts have won the restful distinction of classic literature. The stream flows broad, majestic, and imperturbable at the present time and bears many crafts. While the knowledge of German in the beginning of our

century was so rare as to confer distinction, it has long become a requisite of general education and has attained a vogue which would probably have seemed a sheer impossibility a hundred years ago.

It is the purpose of this study to deal with the influence of German literature in America during an earlier period when the German language was practically unknown, and when the significance of German culture and literature was but imperfectly appreciated.¹ It would be unreasonable to censure our country for this; it will rather be our aim to unfold the causes to which this want of understanding was due.

It is in the nature of things impossible to draw a sharp boundary line between different phases of literary development. It has been deemed advisable, however, to confine these observations to a period including and antedating the first quarter of our century. This is a period upon which the historian looks with somewhat unjustifiable soreness of heart; it is the time of plentiful American reprints of the issues of the English press, with but few original contributions of any value. The mournful complaint of the American author of the time about want of encouragement dins in our ears on turning over the pages of long-forgotten American reviews. It was hard for him to realize, or, when realized, to acquiesce in the fact that it was impossible for him to compete with the accepted classics of English literature and the new developments of the end of the last and beginning of the new century. A literary movement, however, cannot be made to order, and we do well to derive some satisfaction from the fact that the American public, with much trash, read much that was valuable, even though not a native product.

It would be useless to claim that America could vie with England or Germany in appreciation of literature. American civilization was far too conservative to permit of that play of

¹The consideration of German literature among the Germans of Pennsylvania does not fall within the scope of our article. On this subject many interesting communications have been made in the pages of *AMERICANA GERMANICA* and elsewhere.

sentiment and imagination, or to favor the experimental handling of social problems, a certain amount of which is an absolute requisite for art production, or even art appreciation. The radicalism introduced by the French Revolution was undoubtedly helpful to bring into favor certain products of German literature like the works of Schiller and Kotzebue. But it is well known that the French Revolution affected the political life of the nation more than its intellectual or art life. Conceding all this, it is nevertheless true that the American public was always a reading public. Charles Brockden Brown expresses himself on this subject in words that evidently reflect his convictions:¹ "Ill-informed persons might draw false inferences from the scarcity of original books among us. . . . America is probably as great a mart for printed publications as any country in the world; the proportion of readers is probably not exceeded even in England and Germany." He also refers to the difficulty of forming a bibliography of these publications owing to the fact that there were twenty to thirty publishing towns in the United States.

These reprints give us the best idea of the extent to which English works were circulated in this country, and they deserve attention from this point of view. We cannot depend for our information on reviews or annual catalogues or any of the other means we have at the present day for obtaining a knowledge of new publications. During the last century the problem was attempted again and again, but never solved satisfactorily, how to produce a periodical publication of sustained vitality. Scores of reviews and magazines were started, each one according to the sanguine hopes of the editor the successful periodical of the future, but all perished after more or less protracted struggle. There is something irresistibly comic in this constant repetition of the same experience, unless we should feel inclined rather to respect our ancestors for their tenacity in the face of adverse fortune. We must remember the small size of even the princi-

¹ *The American Register and General Repository for 1806-07*, Vol. I.

pal towns of the country and the restricted local circulation of such magazines, to appreciate the difficulty of the task. Even when reviews, towards the beginning of the century, had some hope of greater longevity, reprints do not form, as a rule, a subject for their consideration unless they set aside part of their space for a list of books newly published in America.

From the fact that a practical acquaintance with German was extremely rare in America during our period it is clear that German literature must reach our country, if at all, through the medium of reprints of English translations. This was the case. The few original translations from the German made in America during this early period will receive attention in proportion to the rareness of any such efforts. Strictly speaking the reprints of translations should be judged in connection with the whole subject of American reprints. The fact is frequently emphasized by contemporary and modern writers that reprinting was done in an absolutely indiscriminate fashion, the stamp of approval by an English audience being sufficient to obtain currency for a work in America. We may concede the general truth of this remark and still hold the opinion that the attitude of the American public must have been a selective one, in some ways, towards the large mass of prints that flowed in from England directly or through the intermediary of reprints. To deny this fact would be equivalent to denying the difference between the political and social development of England and America. Such investigations do not to my knowledge exist, leaving us to interpret, to the best of our means, the special significance which these reprints of German translations possess for America.¹

While the reprints of English literature give us the best idea what books were more or less extensively read, it is hardly necessary to mention that many books were imported from

¹That the significance of these reprints is not overlooked is shown by the fact that they are usually enumerated with the originals in modern biographical works on English authors. To obtain trace of them is the principal difficulty.

England, or in the form of Dublin reprints. Among these were many works that appealed only to a limited circle of readers and found a place on the shelves of the society libraries that existed in all the larger towns of the country, or in the collections of the educated book lover. Among this class of literature were many translations from the German which it would not have paid to reprint in America. Circulating libraries furnished the public with abundant reading, much of it of an ephemeral character.

While it has been our duty to call attention to the imperfectly developed sides of American culture, in order not to appear guilty of seeming to enhance the value of our discussion at the expense of truth, it would be as unfair to hide the brighter sides of the picture. Among the conditions favorable to literary appreciation may be mentioned the respectable and established intellectual culture of Philadelphia, the tendency of Boston towards intellectual predominance, the first signs of which made themselves felt by the beginning of our century, and the ambitious attempts of the literary circles of New York during the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century which presaged the coming of greater lights of literature. Apart from the fact that reading was general (as already stated), eloquence in all its forms, as pulpit, forensic, and parliamentary eloquence, appealed to Americans, and we often hear the claim advanced in the beginning of our century that America excels all nations in forensic eloquence. We need only refer to the fact that the beginnings of Cooper and Washington Irving¹ fall within our period, not to mention the earlier, highly creditable work of Charles Brockden Brown. After these introductory remarks—to say more would carry us away too far from the purposes of our investigation—we may proceed to the consideration of our subject.

¹ Both Cooper and Irving enjoyed the greatest popularity in Germany. We could quote several examples of eminent German authors and critics declaring Irving to be their favorite author.

GESSNER AND KLOPSTOCK.

The first work of German literature that reached America proved also the most popular of all, not only during the time when it was comparatively new, but almost during the whole period of sixty years and more, of which we are treating. In the year 1762 the first American reprints of Gessner's *Death of Abel* appeared, and from that period till 1820 scarcely a decade passes without furnishing us with a number of reprints of this work, which enjoyed the greatest popularity both in England and America. I have enumerated in all seventeen reprints of the same, without claiming to have stated the full number actually printed.¹

It is difficult enough for us to appreciate at the present day Gessner's *Idylls*, which at one time formed the delight of the world of belles-lettres. It is still more difficult to appreciate the *Death of Abel*, which was taken quite seriously in its day. Every page breathes sentiments of the loftiest virtue with a monotony that makes the work unreadable even for the most patient reader of modern times. In spite of its virtuous tone the work aroused some opposition in England on account of its free treatment of a biblical subject. Whether such objection was raised against it in America I have not been able to ascertain. Its great popularity makes it reasonably certain that it was regarded as a work of highly acceptable nature. I have found traces of the fact that it was used in America as a gift book, just as in England. Gessner was an especial favorite with ladies, so that it is not astonishing to find that "a Lady" wrote a work in imitation of the *Death of Abel*, entitled *The Death of Cain* (London, 1790?). This product of an imitator, written in a turgid, inflated style, as if intended as a caricature of Gessner, found its way to America and was several times reprinted and sometimes bound in with the *Death of Abel*.

¹ For further information in this and similar cases it will be sufficient to refer here to the appended "List of Translations," with an index containing the reprints arranged under the head of authors, and with date stated.

About the beginning of our century (1802) we find three reprints of Gessner's *Idylls*; in two cases the *Idylls* are preceded by the *Death of Abel*. With some difficulty it is possible for the modern reader to appreciate the attitude of past generations towards these much admired idylls. Gessner possessed an artistic perception for nature that would make him particularly acceptable to the English public; it must be confessed, however, that this did less to endear him to the English (and presumably American) reader than his "affecting simplicity and sentimentality."

The "divine Gessner" proved himself an inspiration to other sentimental dabblers in literature than the "Lady" already mentioned. It would hardly be possible to find a style that is more easily imitated than Gessner's sweetly sentimental effusions. We often find palpable imitations of Gessner's style among the "original" efforts of American writers in the ephemeral magazines of our period. Selections from Gessner himself are also quite frequent.

The principal literary significance of the *Death of Abel* is probably the fact that it popularized Klopstock's style of religious poetry among English-speaking peoples. The first English translator of Klopstock's *Messias* expressed this in a form that seems somewhat astonishing to us, when he advertised the *Messiah* as being "in the manner of the *Death of Abel*." The *Messiah* did not enjoy equal popularity with the lighter and shorter *Death of Abel*. Still the existence of three early American editions (1788, 1795, 1811) proves that there was a constant demand for the work and sets us thinking what class of readers were in the habit of perusing this work, which has always been considered a trying one to the patience of the average mortal. The explanation lies in the fact that the people of the last century were accustomed to a much heavier style of religious and contemplative reading than at the present day. Schubart, the German poet, found the common people far more susceptible to the beauties of Klopstock than the over-educated. Let us hope, too, that many American readers among the people

derived inspiration from the poem, which could not easily be the case with the more cultured. It is necessary to remember that the poetic bloom of the original was lost in the indifferent prose translation. Nevertheless a Rev. Solomon Halling, of South Carolina, drew his inspiration from this prose version when he attempted in 1810 the first book of the *Messiah* in English blank verse. He was evidently without knowledge of German.¹

THE "GERMAN DRAMA" IN AMERICA.²

Probably no development in the realm of German literature was so tangible to the American public, and so forced upon its notice, during our period, as the "German Drama." The name conjures up in our mind visions of the master works of Schiller, Goethe, and Lessing. Not so to the American lover of the drama at this time. Kotzebue dominated the stage, as well as the minds of the public, and Schiller received an added lustre, if his creations (as far as they were known in America at that time) could stand comparison with the "German Shakespeare."³ Kotzebue is a fallen idol. So great is the difference between the popular adoration once accorded him and his present total neglect that few care whether even the small measure of justice that is his due is meted out to him. Needless to say that Kotzebue's world-wide reputation is not without good foundation.

A few words will express all that need be said about the

¹ Cf. 141. A reprint of the *Memoirs of Frederick and Margaret Klopstock*, Philadelphia, etc., 1810 (No. 140), shows that there was a certain amount of interest in Klopstock's life among the American public. With the *Messiah* editions printed in New Jersey, New York, and Massachusetts, and the South also heard from, we recognize that Klopstock's name was rather well known in America. We find him referred to now and then as the celebrated Mr. Klopstock.

² Numbers used without further specification refer to the appended "List of Translations."

³ We have proof of the general interest that Kotzebue's works excited in the popularity that his autobiographical works possessed. The American magazines of the beginning of the century frequently contain biographical notices of Kotzebue, which is a very rare thing in regard to the contemporary authors writing in a foreign language.

German drama, before considering the prevalence of Kotzebue and the active efforts of William Dunlap to introduce his plays on the American stage. A translation of Lessing's *Miss Sara Sampson* appeared in 1789 (or 1790?) from the hands of David Rittenhouse, a Pennsylvanian, celebrated in his day as a scientist.¹ The translator says of it: "This translation was attempted at the request of a friend; and the many virtuous sentiments and excellent lessons of morality it contains, will apologize for its being offered to the public. To young ladies it may afford useful instruction, and it will, from the nature of the distress, be particularly interesting to them." It is of interest as one of the earliest translations of a German drama into English. I cannot find any record that the piece was ever performed on the stage. Lessing's *Minna von Barnhelm*, however, found its way from England to the American stage and was performed at Charleston, S. C. (1795), and Philadelphia (1796) under the title *The Disbanded Officer, or the Baroness of Bruchsal*, the title given it by the English adapter, Johnstone.² Schiller's *Robbers* was performed at New York, May 14, 1795, "to which the company was pronounced unequal."³ Reynold's *Werter and Charlotte*, a dramatization of Goethe's *Werther*, was produced at New York and Boston in 1796 and 1797.⁴

Among the early friends, in America, of German literature, and the German drama in especial, no one deserves so much our attention as the man of whom we subjoin a short biographical notice.

¹ W. Barton, *Memoirs of the Life of David Rittenhouse*. Philadelphia, 1813, p. 495. It is to be presumed that Rittenhouse, whose ancestors were Dutch, learned German from his Pennsylvania German surroundings. I have not been able to trace a copy of *Lucy Sampson*.

² G. O. Seilhamer, *History of the American Theatre, 1792-1797*, Philadelphia, 1891, pp. 207, 214, 217, 282, 283. About this adaptation cf. G. Herzfeld, *William Taylor von Norwich*, 1897, p. 8, H. W. Singer, *Studien zur Litteraturgeschichte, M. Bernays gewidmet*, 1893, pp. 8-10.

³ Seilhamer, pp. 111, 116.

⁴ Seilhamer, pp. 317, 324, 358, 369, 383, 395. The production of the *Harlequin Dr. Faustus*, Philadelphia, June 3, 1796, might also be mentioned, on account of the interest attaching to the story of Dr. Faustus. Cf. Seilhamer, 207, 214, 218.

William Dunlap was born at Perth Amboy, N. J., in 1766. He went to London in 1784 where he remained several years, studying painting with Benjamin West. He was connected with the management of the old John Street Theatre, New York, in 1796. In 1798 he assumed the management of the Park Street Theatre. After the financial failure of his theatrical venture in 1805 he went back to painting, and, among other occupations, served for a time as assistant paymaster of the New York militia (1814-1816). Dunlap was the author of numerous translations from the German and of a number of original dramas, and his knowledge of the stage and painting enabled him to become the historian of the American theatre and of American art. His life was an unsettled one from want of permanent success in his various ventures. He died at New York in 1839. We would perhaps wrong Dunlap if we held him responsible for his want of success. Dunlap did not escape the lot of those who attempt to cultivate art in America without a main view to popular demands and the business aspects of the situation. His name is now appropriately honored by a society bearing his name, whose aim it is to revive a knowledge of Dunlap and his writings, and to furnish information about the history of the early American theatre.¹

When Dunlap entered on his duties as manager of the Park Street Theatre at New York in the autumn of 1798, the most profitable part of the season (September) was lost, the theatre not being completed, so that the first performance could not take place till December 3. Under these circumstances Dunlap's venture was saved by bringing out Kotzebue's *Stranger* (*Menschenhass und Reue*), which had already gained the height of popularity in England. The success of this piece—"undoubtedly owing to the merits of Kotzebue"—alone enabled him to keep the theatre open. It was an adaptation written by Dunlap on the basis of a poor translation from the German,

¹ The publications of the Dunlap Society are not as frequently found in public libraries as they deserve. Further information about Dunlap may be found in his writings and the ordinary means of biographical and literary reference.

and was played for the tenth time on the eighth of March, 1799. This was a long run at that period.¹

The success of the piece determined Dunlap to study German. The study of that language is surrounded, at the present time, by a prosaic atmosphere both for pupil and teacher. Dunlap had the privilege of receiving his instruction from a highly romantic individual, "a victim of the Inquisition," who entertained him with a narrative of his life quite in the fashion of the Tales of Horror, in which German literature held the undoubted supremacy in the estimate of the English and American reader.² Dunlap's unaffected style rises to seriousness and grandiloquence as he dwells on the tale of this man, a Swiss, who told him that he was devoted by his parents to the priesthood, and that, while serving in Spain as chaplain to a Swiss regiment, he was cast into the prisons of the Inquisition, kept immured for two years, and submitted to cruel torture, for attempting to escape with a Spanish lady, of whom he had become enamored.

When speaking of the fact that he was consecrated to the priesthood before he was born, "his eyes, which had glared furiously while he spoke, became dim—his teeth grated, and then became fixed—his hands were clenched—his whole frame convulsed—an hysteric laugh relieved him—tears followed"—

¹ Cf. William Dunlap, *History of the American Theatre*, London, 1833, Vol. II, p. 81. This work and Ireland's *Records of the New York Stage* have furnished the principal information about Dunlap's management of the New York Theatre. It was also possible to verify these dates for the seasons 1798-1799, 1799-1800, 1800-1801, in files of New York newspapers of the time. These files were in general fairly complete, but January and February, 1801, were missing. The number of performances that each piece went through are given in the notes, as far as records could be obtained. If we consider that performances were given only three or four times a week, we can estimate the great popularity which the "German Drama" enjoyed. The *Stranger* was played December 10, 12, 17; January 1 (1799), 16, 30, February 6, 18, March 2 ("for the last time this season"), March 9 ("by particular desire"), April 12 ("by particular desire, and positively for the last time this season"); January 15 (1800), February 26; June 12 (1801).

² Dunlap, Vol. I, pp. 391-401.

etc. When Dunlap observed his morbid sensibility "the image of that power [*i. e.* the Inquisition] which had broken down such a frame and such a mind immediately presented itself."¹

Dunlap gained such facility in reading German that he may be regarded as a very satisfactory translator according to the standards applicable to a time when German studies were in their infancy.

Dunlap did not neglect the opportunity for further theatrical successes offered by the popularity of Kotzebue's pieces. On March 11, 1799, his version of Kotzebue's *Lovers' Vows* (*Kind der Liebe*) was played with full success.² The public and performers were so well satisfied with this translation that, many years after, it was frequently played in preference to the London copy.³

"On the first of April, the play of *Count Benyowski* was brought out with great expense and care. The audience was much gratified, and expectation, though on tip-top, fully satisfied. The costumes of Russia and Siberia were strictly conformed to, and the snow and ice scenes of Kamschatka would have been invaluable in the dog-days." "The play was well performed for a first representation. It is necessary to say that the literal translations of Count Benyowski can give no idea of the drama as prepared for the New York stage."⁴ It was played at intervals for some fifteen years.⁵

Encouraged, probably, by the gratifying success experienced so far in introducing the "German Drama", Dunlap ventured on a bold undertaking. "The next play of note, as a novelty,

¹ Dunlap, Vol. I, pp. 393, 394.

² Dunlap, II, p. 95. Dunlap is mistaken when he states that his version of *Lovers' Vows* was never published. It was published in 1814 (No. 158). *Lovers' Vows* was played March 11, 18 (third time), 21, 29, April 8, 19, May 27, November 22; October 20 (1800).

³ J. N. Ireland, *Records of the New York Stage*, New York, 1866, Vol. I, p. 185.

⁴ Dunlap, II, p. 96. *Count Benyowski* was played April 1, 3, 5, 20; January 22 (1800), February 8.

⁵ Ireland, I, p. 185.

was Schiller's *Don Carlos*, performed on the sixth of May, 1799." Dunlap was compelled to curtail the piece to bring it within the limits permitted to a play on the American stage, and it was curtailed still more during the performance. "It was unmercifully shorn of its beams." Although the attendance was satisfactory, to judge by receipts (676 dollars), it could hardly be expected that the piece would appeal to the existing taste. It was not repeated. This was, according to Dunlap, the first performance of Schiller on the American stage.¹ On May 10 a second piece of Schiller was performed according to Ireland, namely, *Kabale und Liebe*, in the translation of M. G. Lewis entitled *The Minister*,² and on June 14, according to the same authority, a comedy from Kotzebue, by Dunlap, called *The Indians in England, or, Nabob of Mysore (Die Indianer in England)*.³ When the season 1798-99 came to a close Dunlap had performed on his stage four pieces of Kotzebue and two of Schiller.

During the summer, while the theatre was closed, Dunlap retired to Perth Amboy and employed his time in translating Kotzebue's *False Shame* and turning Kotzebue's "farce" *Der*

¹ Dunlap, II, p. 97. To give an idea under what conditions a piece like *Don Carlos* was performed in an American theatre of the time, I quote part of an advertisement from the *Daily Advertiser* of that date: "The last night of performing for the benefit of the lessee of the theatre. A celebrated tragedy written by Frederick Schiller, author of the *Robbers*, etc., called *Don Carlos*. Between the play and the opera, a melodrama, called *Ariadne* abandoned on the Isle of Naxos. To which will be added the very popular comic opera of the *Prize*."

Dunlap was not quite accurate in stating that this was the first performance of Schiller in America. We have noticed an earlier performance of the *Robbers*.

² Ireland, I, p. 186. After the *Minister* was to be given, a comedy in two acts called *The Deuce is in Him*. Between the play and farce was to be spoken a eulogy on General Washington (New York *Daily Advertiser*). The *Minister* was performed May 10 (1799), June 10 ("for the second time the very popular tragedy called *The Minister*," etc.), December 20. These three performances prove that the drama enjoyed a certain amount of popularity.

³ Ireland, I, p. 187. It does not appear by what authority Ireland attributes this version to Dunlap. Dunlap (*History of American Theatre*, II, p. 383) mentions *Indians in England* among his works and adaptations for the stage.

Wildfang into an opera which he called the *Wildgoose Chase*.¹ On October 11 Dunlap had the gratification of receiving a letter from Kotzebue, "in which he [Kotzebue] expresses his pleasure that the favourable reception of his muse in America should be owing to his correspondent [Dunlap]." Kotzebue offered to sell Dunlap a number of his unpublished pieces, with the same right as that given to Covent Garden, to resell to the American stages, under guarantee that the pieces should not be printed. Dunlap does not mention his entering on any such arrangement; nor does it seem that any such arrangement was practical for America.²

On November 29, 1799, was played, for the first time, Kotzebue's *Self-Immolation, or, Family Distress (Der Opfertod)*. It was unsuccessful and is not even mentioned by Dunlap.³ The comedy of *False Shame*, however, as translated and adapted by Dunlap, "was performed with the utmost success on the eleventh December, 1799." "This play, without scenery or decoration, by plain dialogue and natural character, supported the theatre this, the second, season of the author's direction. As in the case of *The Stranger*, it ran through the whole winter. *The Force of Calumny, Fraternal Discord*⁴ (from the same pen), and other pieces did their part, but *False Shame* was the pillar on which all rested." Dunlap thus dwells with particular delight on the success of this comedy, which he states was excellently acted in the principal parts.⁵

¹ Dunlap, II, p. 118.

² Dunlap, II, p. 119. The *Commercial Advertiser* of November 21, 1799, contains after the announcement of the next play (*Lovers' Vows*, November 22) the statement: "We have authority to say that those manuscript pieces which by contract are not to be printed for many years yet to come, will be forwarded to the director of the New-York Theatre immediately from their illustrious author." This may be nothing more than a boast made for the sake of advertisement, based on Kotzebue's proposal. At the same time it is possible that Dunlap had entered upon negotiations with him.

³ Ireland, I, p. 190. Played November 29, December 2.

⁴ I cannot find a record of a performance of this piece till the next season.

⁵ Dunlap, II, pp. 121, 122. The original MS. (4°, not paged) is in the Harris Collection of American Poetry, Providence, R. I. *False Shame* was played December 11, 13, 18; January 6 (1800), 17, February 3, 22, April 25; March 25 (1801).

"*Der Wildfang*, as translated and metamorphosed into an opera, called the *Wildgoose Chase*,¹ was first performed on the twenty-fourth of January (1800), and continued a favorite as long as Hodgkinson continued to play the Young Baron. *The Force of Calumny* had likewise been successful;² but the secession of Mr. Cooper in March was a severe blow to the theatre and its receipts. However, Kotzebue, with the manager's industry, kept up the business. *The Virgin of the Sun* was brought out at great expense, with splendid scenery and dresses, and was attractive through the season.³ *Pizarro*, composed from the original and Sheridan's alterations, was performed on the twenty-sixth of April; the concluding scene by Sheridan was omitted, and the sublime last lines of the author preferred.⁴ These two pieces, with all their faults, have great merit, and deserved the thanks of the 'manager in distress.'⁵

Ireland records further performances of Kotzebue's plays. The *Count of Burgundy* was brought out on March 3.⁶ On April 21 was played for the first time Kotzebue's *Corsicans, or, the Dawnings of Love*;⁷ on May 5, Dibdin's farce from Kotzebue, *The Horse and the Widow*⁸ (*Die Wittve und das Reitpferd*), and

¹ Published New York, 1801 (No. 67). *The Wildgoose Chase* was performed January 24 (1800), 27, 29, February 19, April 10, December 19, 22.

² *The Force of Calumny* was performed February 5 (1800), 7, 10, March 7.

³ The version "probably by Dunlap" (Ireland, I, p. 192). Dunlap's version was published New York, 1801 (No. 64). *The Virgin of the Sun* was played March 12 (1800), 14, 17, 19, 22, November 21, December 10; March 30 (1801).

⁴ Published May 23, 1800 (*Daily Advertiser* of date). (No. 59.) *Pizarro* was performed March 26 (1800), 27, 28, 31, April 2, 4, 10, 23, May 16, December 12, 15, 26; March 18 (1801). The performance of March 26, 1800, is advertised as Sheridan's adaptation. For April 23 Dunlap's adaptation was advertised, May 16, Sheridan's again, so that Dunlap seems to have used his own version only as an experiment.

⁵ Dunlap, II, p. 123.

⁶ Ireland, I, p. 191. It was repeated March 5. Ireland states that the adaptation was by Dunlap and was less successful than most of his adaptations. Dunlap does not mention it among his works (*History of American Theatre*, II, p. 383).

⁷ Ireland, I, p. 192. I cannot find any record that the piece was repeated.

⁸ Ireland, I, p. 193. I do not find any record of a second performance.

on April 23, a sequel to the *Stranger* called *The Stranger's Birthday*.¹

Ireland does not even exhaust the list of German plays given during this season. By reference to the newspapers of the day we find announcements of the following performances: April 16, *Sighs, or, the Daughter* (Prince Hoare's adaptation of Kotzebue's *Armuth und Edelsinn*); May 28, Kotzebue's *Joanna of Montfaucon* (adapted by Cumberland)²; June 6 (?), Kotzebue's *Happy Family*.³ (*Die Silberne Hochzeit*), and most interesting of all, April 7, "the favorite tragedy of the *Robbers*."⁴

We find on reviewing this year that Dunlap presented fourteen pieces from Kotzebue that were new to his New York audience. Indeed a most remarkable testimony to his enterprise as theatrical manager.

Dunlap sums up the significance of the "German Drama" for his theatre in the words: "The necessity for producing these attractive novelties (Kotzebue's plays) rendered *Hamlet* and *Macbeth*, and all the glories of the drama for the time a dead letter."⁵

While Dunlap's enterprise appeared to the outsider to be prosperous there was much discord and discontent within. "Even those plays which attracted the public, and gave bread to some and the means of destructive indulgence to others, were stigmatized by the actors as *Dutch Stuff*, and by other epithets equally characteristic. But why dwell on evils of this disgusting kind?" Dunlap adds: "Can they be removed?"⁶

"The new season opened on October 20, 1800, with *Lovers*'

¹ Ireland, I, p. 192. According to Ireland this was an original sketch by Dunlap. In the newspaper announcements it is mentioned as a translation of Kotzebue's *Die edle Lüge*.

² Ireland notes a performance for January 23, 1801. Dunlap (II, p. 140) mentions the piece under the season 1800-01. It was "without success compared to former plays by this author."

³ Dunlap (II, p. 136) mentions this piece under the season 1800-01. It "was played unsuccessfully."

⁴ *The Robbers* is announced again for June 3, 1801.

⁵ Dunlap, II, p. 124.

⁶ Dunlap, II, p. 125.

Vows." "The first play the manager [Dunlap] produced this season was perhaps the most meritorious of the many translations and alterations which came from his pen. *Fraternal Discord*, altered and adapted from Kotzebue's *Bruders Zwist* (*Die Versöhnung oder der Bruderzwist*), was made more English, particularly in the *prominent characters* of Captain Bertram and his old brother—sailor and boatswain—than any of the previous pieces from the same source. The two parts were most admirably played, and nothing was ever finer of the kind than Jefferson's sailor, except the gouty captain of Hodgkinson. The merits of this piece have been so far acknowledged by English managers and actors, and even by American audiences, as to obtain a preference over the foreign version from the same source."¹

On March 9 Dunlap's version of the *Abbé de l'Epée* (by Bouilly) was played for the first time and was eminently successful.² Possibly Dunlap used Kotzebue's adaptation of the French piece.

"The manager [Dunlap] had, in the midst of annoyance from sources as adverse to literary exertion as can well be imagined, translated and adapted to the American stage the play of *Abälino, the Great Bandit*." Dunlap did not know at the time who was the author. "The success of the piece was great, both in New York and elsewhere. It was performed for the first time in the English language, the eleventh of February, 1801."³ "Zschokke's *Abälino* has been translated into most of the languages of Europe, and brought forward on most of the European stages under various disguises. It was first played in a language foreign to its author, in New York, and only played

¹ Dunlap, II, pp. 134, 135. *Fraternal Discord* was published New York, 1809 (No. 132). I have noted performances on October 24 (1800), 27, December 19, 29; March 2 (1801). The foreign version is *Dibdin's Birthday*, London, 1800.

² Dunlap, II, p. 146. I find performances announced for March 9 (1801), 13, 16, 20, April 6.

³ Dunlap, II, p. 142. Printed at least four times. (No. 96, 170.) Performances took place February 11, March 2 (sixth time), 11, April 10, June 5.

in America by its original title.¹ Never was a play more successful, or a successful play less productive to its author or translator. It was overwhelmed with snow."²

The next season (1801-1802) we find Dunlap again busy translating from the German, but his efforts are not so successful as in the preceding years. "On the fourth of December, 1801, a farce called *Where is He?* by the manager [Dunlap], from the German, was played with success. The *Force of Calumny* was successful this season, but in the commencement the business was a losing one."³ "On the twenty-sixth of March, 1802, Schiller's *Fiesco*, curtailed, was performed (Cooper playing Fiesco): it was coldly received."⁴ It may be recalled in this connection that *Fiesco* was not properly appreciated by the German audience when first presented. The newspapers announce a performance of the *Wise Man of the East* (Mrs. Inchbald's adaptation of Kotzebue's *Indianer in England*) for June 1 (1801).

For the following season (1802-1803) Dunlap made only three translations. "The manager [Dunlap] had translated from the German and brought out, on the fifteenth of November (1802) a play called *Peter the Great*. Mr. Cooper, Mr. Hodgkinson, and Mrs. Whitlock were the principal performers, but the piece did not live."⁵ Ireland further records⁶ a performance, on February 28, 1803, of a farce, *The Good Neighbor* (an adaptation from Iffland), which was favorably received, and Dunlap mentions⁷ a performance, on March 30, of *The Blind Boy*, altered from Kotzebue's *Epigramm*, which was produced with small

¹ M. G. Lewis (*Rugantino*, reprinted, New York, 1810 [No. 146]) and R. W. Elliston (*Abellino*, reprinted, New York, 1806 [No. 113]) furnished adaptations for the English stage in 1805. We see that Dunlap commits a slight error in stating that his version alone went by the original title.

² Dunlap, II, p. 143.

³ Dunlap, II, p. 160.

⁴ Dunlap, II, p. 161.

⁵ Dunlap, II, p. 165. Printed, New York, 1814. (No. 160.)

⁶ Ireland, I, p. 212. Printed, New York, 1814. (No. 156.)

⁷ Dunlap, II, p. 191.

success ("Parts much applauded; it was never popular"). This is, apparently, the last piece translated from the German by Dunlap for the purposes of his theatre. Dunlap struggled on for some time longer, but on January 22, 1805, the theatre was finally closed.

We have spoken at some length of Dunlap's theatrical enterprises, and told the story as much as possible in his own words.¹ We feel the evident pleasure with which, after a varied career, Dunlap looks back, as an aged man, on the period when the successful novelties of the "German Drama" made his management, for a time at least, a success. Although he dwells with satisfaction on his somewhat subordinate activity as translator and adapter of plays, he shows the greatest fairness towards the author who provided him with the most copious materials for his enterprise. Speaking of the disparagement that the German drama suffered in England, Dunlap says that he appreciated the old English drama more, but would not depreciate the Germans to the level of the modern drama manufacturers of England. "As my admiration of the German dramatists was not founded on the praise of English writers, so my opinion has not been shaken by their censures."² He accuses the English playwrights of writing down the German plays when they became the rage in England, and at the same time stealing from them "as unconscionably as they berated them unmercifully." There is much truth in this accusation. About the author whose works were the mainstay of the "German Drama," Dunlap expresses the following opinion: "Kotzebue's great talent was facility of invention; his incidents are admirable; his delineation of character is often fine; but many of his characters partake of the age in which he lived, and of his own false philosophy and

¹ The information furnished by Dunlap seems to be in general exact. He kept a diary (several of these are in the library of the New York Historical Society) and presumably used it for writing his *History of the American Theatre*. In minor matters there may be mistakes, or there may be some obliquity of vision here and there, a thing which is almost unavoidable in memoirs.

² Dunlap, *Memoirs of G. F. Cooke*, London, 1813, Vol. I, p. 230.

false estimate of the foundation on which society ought to rest."¹

This judgment, though apparently tempered by a long lapse of years, would probably receive further modification at the hands of the most lenient modern critic. Nobody concedes Kotzebue at the present day any ability in character delineation. It would be difficult to find in the world's history another author so specious and at the same time so entirely devoid of sterling worth. Kotzebue's creations reveal the base metal to even the slightest scratch, all his excellence is merely superficial. But superficial excellence (if the phrase be permissible) Kotzebue possesses in the highest degree. The conversation in his plays is that of living persons, handled with equal skill whether two or more characters are introduced. It is clear that when his plays were impersonated on the stage by actors, persons of flesh and blood, an effect must have been produced, on half-cultivated minds, of highest truth to life. We should finally add Kotzebue's unscrupulous use of all the sentimental and humanitarian foibles of the age, although he was by nature entirely incapable of handling ethical questions. It has been the experience of all times that the great mass of the reading public and of the theatre-goers is satisfied with dummies reiterating the fashionable or popular sentiments of the hour. As long as Kotzebue's sentimentality and sham heroism appealed to the public, or part of the public, his pieces held their own. As soon as public taste changed in these matters they fell into oblivion, and now only the student of literature has occasion to pass over the waste grounds of what was once a flourishing literary reputation. It should be added, however, in justice to Kotzebue, that in the field of low comedy the brilliancy and spontaneity of his wit, though always inclined to the cynical or heartless, have kept him a place on the stage during our century, at least in Germany.

It is interesting to note how Dunlap's endeavor to make the stage an instrument of higher moral and artistic culture failed

¹ Dunlap, II, p. 90.

in the face of the same abuses that lower the drama at the present day and cripple its possible influence for good. The intense objection that the stage encountered from many on moral and religious grounds and the attempts at legislative prohibition of theatrical performances did not, it appears, deter society from patronizing the theatre. The theatre certainly enjoyed a proportionately greater popularity than it did during many parts of our century. But the tendency toward the "star" system and the temptation to consider the play merely as a vehicle for an actor's skill, the necessity, on part of the manager, of conforming to, instead of forming, the public taste, so as to insure the necessary financial success—commercialism is an apt name for this evil in the domain of art,—all these abuses Dunlap felt as a heavy handicap or a positive hindrance. It is not possible to enter into the consideration of these interesting problems, which from the conservative character of American institutions and, consequently, American life remain very much the same at the present day. It was necessary, however, to call attention to them so as to obtain a background for an estimate of the significance of the "German Drama" in America. It will be apparent from these remarks why Kotzebue's plays enjoyed such a great vogue. Besides exploiting certain sentimental fallacies of the day they possess excellent qualities as acting plays. Dunlap thought that his endeavors as a theatrical manager would have been crowned with better success, if he had been able to conduct his theatre on the plan of the model theatres of France and Germany, without all the petty annoyances already enumerated. He casts a longing eye on Goethe and Iffland in their capacity as managers of an ideal stage. While it is not possible to tell how far some of the knowledge of the German stage that Dunlap reveals in his *History of the American Theatre* may have been acquired at a later time, there can hardly be any doubt that during the period of his active management he was well informed about the condition of the German stage.

While the vogue and world-wide reputation of Kotzebue is a

literary fact of some significance, the single works of Kotzebue are so lacking in artistic individuality as to deserve no minute examination. For the same reason the single translations of Dunlap do not call for a detailed examination, even if the scattered materials were readily accessible for this purpose. Dunlap shows himself, in the number of his pieces that I have examined, as a conscientious translator. He follows his original closely but with due attention to English idiom. Where the difference between American and foreign customs is too marked, or where passages seemed objectionable, he permitted himself slight changes. For presentation on the stage the pieces had to be shortened; these omissions were indicated in the printed text. Dunlap's knowledge of German was very good for a time when even a smattering of the language was rare. His style is simple and unaffected, giving him a decided advantage over many of his English rivals, who embalmed Kotzebue's easy conversational style in the somewhat elaborate and artificial English prose style of the eighteenth century. We must keep in mind that Dunlap attempted original dramatic writing, and while his efforts, like almost all that was written for the American stage, are lacking in permanent value, they take respectable rank among the early productions of American literature. Genest, the historian of the English stage, gives the preference, in most cases, to the English versions, which had been adapted with more freedom, but he also has words of praise, at times, for Dunlap. One important difference between Dunlap and his English competitors was this: Dunlap possessed a knowledge of German that was rare among practical playwrights. He treated the intentions of his author with due respect, while the English purveyors of dramatic literature tailored Kotzebue's pieces unscrupulously and to their hearts' content, trimmed them and changed them to suit their conventional ideas of what a drama should be.¹ Since Kotzebue's plays,

¹ John Howard Payne's version of *Lovers' Vows* affords a curious specimen of adapting. (Cf. No. 133, where Payne's own explanations are quoted.) During his stay in England (1813-1832) he made numerous adaptations of dramatic

whatever else their merits be, are loosely constructed it was easy for every bungler to try his hand at improving them.

Dunlap had a rival who attempted to compete with him in introducing Kotzebue to American readers. This rival was Charles Smith,¹ a bookseller of New York, whose ambition was directed toward translating all of the works of Kotzebue. Be it that adverse criticism discouraged him,² or be it that the magnitude of the task broke down his resolution, it seems that Smith did not translate more than three pieces of Kotzebue (Nos. 50, 58, 68 [1800]), and then drifted the way of the ordinary American publisher, appropriating the fruits of another's labor by the easy process of reprinting English translations. His reprints (1800, 1801) fill two volumes and part of a third, (cf. No. 51) and represent probably the largest number of translations from the German printed by an American bookseller during the early period. Smith's original translations would hardly deserve mention, but for the fact that he comes in for the indulgence which, by a general courtesy, is extended to pioneers of a new movement. His translations are veritable transliterations of the original, and one does not know how much of this should be attributed to want of skill in handling

literature, principally from the French. Some of these adaptations may go back to the German, but they do not necessarily fall within the province of our article, as they were made for the English stage. The Congressional Library has a manuscript translation of Schiller's *Kabale und Liebe*, dated 1848, ascribed to Payne. If it is genuine, it would be proof of German studies of the American author.

Dunlap, to mention it here, did not hesitate to give his opinion about the character of the English adaptations. He says, *Memoirs of G. F. Cooke*, London, 1813: "It became the interest of certain English writers to put it [the brilliant German drama] down. The English translators succeeded in darkening its brightness by a most thick, sometimes impenetrable, fogginess."

¹Some information about Smith may be found in Appleton's *Cyclopedia of American Biography* and in an article by Dr. Francis, *International Magazine*, New York, Vol. V (1852), p. 261. "I believe he was a New Yorker" (Francis).

²Smith's translations from Kotzebue were severely criticised in C. B. Brown's *Monthly Magazine and American Review for the Year 1800*, New York, Vol. II, p. 133 ff. (*The Count of Burgundy*), p. 225 (*The Wild Youth*). The third drama translated by Smith was *La Peyrouse*.

the English language and how much to his desire to be absolutely faithful to his original. Smith shows himself often at war with the rules of English grammar. If he was not of German extraction but had acquired German by study later in life, his knowledge of German deserves more credit than his ability to express himself in English.

It is stated on good authority that the Rev. Will lived about this time (1799) in New York and enriched American literature by translations from the German.¹ It has not been possible to verify this statement and to determine the extent of his activity in New York.

We have given Dunlap a lengthy consideration on account of his individual efforts in introducing the German drama into America. His merits in this direction will become apparent, if we pass once more in review his activity and compare the number of German plays acted under his management with those played in London theatres. A number of these pieces were not produced

¹ Dr. J. W. Francis (1789-1861), who was an oracle on all questions pertaining to old New York, makes this statement in his reminiscences (*International Magazine*, New York, Vol. V, 1852, p. 261; *Old New York*, New York, 1858, p. 46). Dr. Francis, who was of German extraction, during his youth attended Rev. Kunze's German Lutheran Church, and was therefore acquainted with German circles. Although many of the details furnished by him in regard to early translators from the German are inexact, as he depended apparently on his memory, it is more difficult to believe that he would record a person as residing in New York, when there was no foundation for it. *Old New York*, p. 46, he mentions him as having furnished translations from the German for the John Street Theatre (evidently an error) and adds: "This accomplished man, after but a short stay in New York, returned to Europe, where, in 1799, he published in London, in two volumes octavo, a translation of Knigge's *Practical Philosophy of Social Life*." If these dates be correct, Francis could hardly have a reliable personal recollection about Will. The directories of New York of about that time contain no reference to the Rev. Will, but show other persons of the same name, possibly relatives. A Henry Will was treasurer of the Reformed Church and of the Musical Society. The Rev. Peter Will published in England, between 1795 and 1799, a number of translations, designating himself as minister of the Reformed Congregation in the Savoy. I cannot trace him afterwards in England for a long time, so that it is possible that he emigrated to America. Francis assigns to him the translation of the *Constant Lovers*, New York, 1799 (No. 42), Boston, 1799 (No. 41), New York, 1801 (No. 73).

on the London stage, at least not contemporaneously, according to the authorities accessible to me. Such plays are: Schiller's *Don Carlos*, *Fiesco*, Kotzebue's *Count Benyowsky*, *False Shame*, *The Force of Calumny*, *The Stranger's Birthday*, *The Virgin of the Sun*, *The Birthday* (*Epigramm*), *The Good Neighbor* (from Iffland), *Peter the Great* and *Where is He?* The performance of Dunlap's *Wildgoose Chase* (*Wildfang*) preceded Dibdin's *Of Age To-morrow*, the performance of Dunlap's *Indians in England* preceded Mrs. Inchbald's *Wise Man of the East*, as did his *Abaellino* the English adaptations. In many cases, too, it would happen that Dunlap followed with his adaptation a half a year or a year in the wake of the London performance, as in the case of the *Stranger*, *Lovers' Vows*, *Fraternal Discord*, and *Pizarro*. Besides adaptations from other hands, like Kotzebue's *Self Immolation*, *The Count of Burgundy*, *Sighs* (*Armut und Edelsinn*), *The Horse and the Widow*, *Joanna of Montfaucon*, *The Wise Man of the East*, and Schiller's *Minister* (*Kabale und Liebe*), that were performed on the London stage, there were others of which a London performance is not recorded, such as, *The Corsicans*, *The Happy Family*. These pieces, principally from the versatile pen of Kotzebue, covering the entire range of dramatic writing, would have been indeed a splendid school of the drama if Kotzebue's work possessed more solid worth. This is not the proper place to enter upon an account of the character of these various dramas.¹ Nor is it necessary to enumerate here the many reprints of Kotzebue's pieces. A look at the index and the "list of translations" will suffice to establish the fact that Kotzebue outrivalled in popularity all other German authors. His popularity is indeed a remarkable phenomenon in the chronicles of literature. The predominance of the German drama existed at other American theatres as well as at New York, but with this difference, that while Dunlap endeavored to furnish his own

¹ Cf. about Kotzebue and his work the biography of C. Rabany, *Kotzebue, Sa Vie*, etc., Paris, 1893, and the literature referred to in Goedeke's *Grundriss*.

adaptations, the other theatres were more often content to use the versions of the English adapters.¹ Dunlap justly complains of the indiscriminate preference which American audiences showed for everything that had passed the tribunal of English opinion. With all this prejudice to combat, some of Dunlap's adaptations held the stage for a longer or a shorter time. They were successfully introduced on the Boston stage and were played there for several years.² *Lovers' Vows* and *Fraternal Discord*, as already mentioned, were frequently given the preference over the English versions. Ireland records a special revival of Dunlap's adaptations during the seasons 1814-1817.³ His *Abaellino* gained an enormous popularity and was played in all the American theatres. When later Lewis' translation of the prose romance *Abaellino* was published under the title of the *Bravo of Venice*, it was reprinted in America with the first title *Abaellino*, under which name Dunlap had made the story popular.

A number of Kotzebue's pieces, like *Pizarro*, *The Stranger*, *Lovers' Vows*, kept the stage during the whole of our period. Indeed *Pizarro* and the *Stranger* did not pass from the boards until comparatively recent times.⁴ It would be easy to fill pages with an account of the favorite actors and actresses who appeared in the part of Rolla (*Pizarro*), Frederick (*Lovers' Vows*), and Mrs. Haller (*The Stranger*). As long as the *Stranger* kept the stage the discussion of the morality of the piece follows it like a

¹ Besides those already mentioned I have used as authorities the following works: C. Blake, *An Historical Account of the Providence Stage*, Providence, 1868; W. W. Clapp, *History of the Boston Stage*, 1853; H. P. Phelps, *Players of a Century, a Record of the Albany Stage*, 2 ed., Albany, 1880; W. B. Wood, *Personal Recollections of the Stage*, Philadelphia, 1855; and various reviews and magazines that devote attention to theatrical matters.

² Dunlap, II, p. 120.

³ The following adaptations of Dunlap were revived: *Count Benyowsky*, *Force of Calumny* (1814-15), *Lovers' Vows* (1815-16), *Fraternal Discord* (1816-17).

⁴ Remarks by Ireland and Blake show that these pieces were still in vogue between 1860 and 1870. ("It [*The Stranger*] bids fair to retain its popularity for a long time."—Blake.)

faithful shadow.¹ Mrs. Mowatt relates, from personal experience, in order to show that Kotzebue's *Stranger* could have a moral effect, how a young lady contemplating the crime which had made Mrs. Haller miserable, was stricken by conscience, during a performance of the *Stranger* at Charleston, and, with a shriek, fainted from a sudden attack of hysteria.² Nothing would probably have delighted the vain author more than to have lived to record in his favor this testimonial from across the Atlantic. His delight in such certificates of morality is of course a half-conscious confession of his weakness as a moralist.

We have noticed how during Dunlap's management Kotzebue "was the rage" for a number of years (1799-1802) and then, by a natural sifting process, only a number of pieces kept the stage. For the season of 1813-14 William Wood records a remarkable revival of the German drama at his Philadelphia theatre. He says:³ "The German drama, at this time, stood high in public favor. We may call it, indeed, *the German Season*. Pizarro, *Virgin of the Sun*, *The Stranger*, and *The Robbers*, had been long favorably established, as well as Kotzebue's minor pieces, *How to Die for Love*, *Horse and the Widow*, *Of Age To-morrow*, and others. Benyowsky has been already noticed. But this season they became entirely the fashion, and made the German drama a matter much discussed. Schiller's noble drama of *The Minister, or Cabal and Love*, was now altered and acted with distinguished success, under the title of the *Harper's Daughter*."

¹ A typical discussion of this kind is to be found in the *Companion and Weekly Miscellany*, Baltimore, 1804-05, p. 33, where "Crito" claims that the repentance of Mrs. Haller precludes any bad example, while his opponent brands Kotzebue as being "pretty well known to be one of that vile band of German conspirators against the peace, the virtue, nay, the very existence of civil and religious society." We will not err in assuming that the critic draws here for his weapons on the arsenal of Mrs. Hannah More, or some other equally redoubtable warrior for good, established morality.

A majority of the critics were, it seems, arrayed against the morality of the piece.

² Anna Cora Mowatt, *Autobiography of an Actress*, 1865.

³ *Recollections*, p. 183.

While we have not hesitated to give Kotzebue the consideration that he deserves from the esteem in which his dramas were held by persons of taste and some critical ability, the works of Schiller and their reception in America excite naturally a greater interest. We smile now when we find Schiller so to speak arm in arm with Kotzebue and Zschokke.¹ But we must consider that the American readers and audiences of the time did not have accessible numerous accounts of German literature, as we have, in which the works of Zschokke's youth and the whole pretentious writings of Kotzebue are disposed of in a line or two at the most, while the account of Schiller's life fills many pages. We must remember that Schiller, for a long time, was known only by the less mature though perhaps more striking works of his youthful years, principally the *Robbers*, and to a certain extent by *Kabale und Liebe*. But still the feeling is discernible that Schiller's *Robbers* possessed something that was lacking in the same way in any other author of the time. This element we can best sum up in the word sublimity.

The editions of Schiller's works reprinted in this country are contained in the appended list of translations, where statements may be found in regard to the different translations which they represent. There existed at least three American reprints of the *Robbers* (1793, 1802, 1808?) and possibly a fourth (1825 or earlier). *Kabale und Liebe* was reprinted twice (1802, 1813), the latter edition being an adaptation made for the American stage. We find one edition of *Fiesco* (1802), and it is interesting to note that Coleridge's translation of the *Piccolomini*, in spite of the fact that it failed to attract attention in England, was reprinted in America (1805). This may be taken to show that the publishers expected a general interest in Schiller extending beyond those works which appealed to the existing taste in matters of the drama.

¹ At Providence, R. I., *Abaelino* "was announced in the bills as the best dramatic work of the best dramatic writer of the age, Schiller" (Blake, p. 62). It is impossible to tell whether the management really believed this. It is interesting to notice that the extravagant character of the *Abaelino* was probably sufficient to make this announcement appear credible to the public.

Of these plays the *Robbers* alone enjoyed a general vogue on the American stage. Not that the piece could at all compete in frequency of performance with Kotzebue's popular dramas, the *Robbers* being, indeed, unsuited for frequent repetitions; but the play nevertheless put in an appearance from time to time as one of the most substantial morsels for the palate of the theatre-goer.¹ In England, as is well known, the *Robbers* was not publicly performed, for political and kindred reasons, and even during the first quarter of our century no performance seems to be recorded. Here we have clearly an example of difference in political institutions affecting the literary conditions of the country.

It would be interesting to examine in detail the adaptations in use for the American stage, if such can still be traced at the present day. John A. Dunlap speaks of these versions in the following words:² "Schiller's plays are well known to the literary world, but, except the *Robbers*, they are not familiar to the frequenters of the English or American theatres; and *The Robbers* so mutilated and mangled as to give no adequate idea of the great German poet."

William B. Wood, one of the most respected stage managers and actors of this early period, whose name we have already mentioned more than once, makes some interesting remarks about the corruption which the German drama suffered at the hands of English and American translators and managers, making it often difficult for the public to judge of the merits of the originals. He gives the following account of the version of the *Robbers* in use in the Philadelphia theatre, which he considers a judicious adaptation of a German piece for the American stage.³ "In the *Robbers* the episode of Koziński and the dis-

¹ I mention a number of performances that have come to my notice: New York, 1795 (probably the earliest performance of the piece in English), April 7, 1800, June 3, 1801; Philadelphia, season 1805-06, 1810-11, 1813-14 (Cooper, Charles de Moor); New Orleans, January 1, 1806; Providence, September 17, 1806 (theatre closed "with Schiller's celebrated tragedy *The Robbers*"); Albany, spring 1815.

² Dunlap, II, p. 104.

³ *Recollections*, p. 185.

guise scenes of Charles as the count were omitted, with great advantage to the general interest of the piece, and particularly as they affected the position and value of Amelia. A prolixity in some of the scenes, especially those of Francis, Kozinski, and the assumed count, throws a weight upon the play, which may well be avoided, and save, to the actor of Charles, much power, otherwise wasted on minor situations, and which is loudly called for at the close of the fourth and throughout the fifth act."

As it is seldom possible to furnish a detailed criticism of German works from the pen of an early American reviewer, it may be of interest to quote some remarks about the *Robbers* found in the *Monthly Anthology and Boston Review*, a periodical which embodied the young aspirations of Boston culture in a manner very creditable for that time. The remarks are characterized by a fairness which is somewhat rare in conservative public opinion of the time. They are found in a series of articles under the title *Silva*, Vol. IV (1807), p. 371. The accents of the critic are perhaps a little stammering but his admiration is undisguised. "There is no doubt some raving and theatrical declamation in the tragedy of the *Robbers*, but I do pity the soul, that is not melted with its tenderness and roused by its energies. Perhaps, in the whole fairy-ground of fiction, a character like Moor cannot be found. His revenge is of the most natural kind, always uniform, and wonderfully great. The kind feelings are not buried nor destroyed . . . they only slumber in temporary torpor. Sentiments the most manly, and perceptions which savour of true greatness, are often expressed in language the most forcible and sublime. As for Francis, he has the form, the features, and the folly of a villain. Great art is clearly exhibited in his manner of deceiving his father, and his subsequent conduct makes him the finished hero of vice. Who does not love Amelia? So constant in her affection, so great in her hatred. As for the robbers, how nicely are their characters and dispositions marked! All are criminal, yet some are perhaps to be pitied, and others are downright offenders, with blackest hearts and hands full of shameful vice. But if we

consider the state of society at that time, they will not appear so very detestable. Knowledge and religion were mere names, or not better than superficial science or hateful superstition. The use of arms was fully allowed, by which means alone the poor were protected, and provided for, and the female sex defended from insult, or their dishonor revenged. The robbers in this play are eager to sacrifice the infamous Charles, and in fact he is buried in the tomb he has prepared for his father. How do they catch every word of Kozinki's [sic] tale, and how do they burn for revenge on the villainous prince, the possessor of his Amelia! Indeed our state of civilization is no standard, by which the feudal ages are to be tried. To me it appears, that the crimes of the robbers were the common disorders committed by the strong, and so universal were the ravages of a similar nature, that I rather consider the actions and bloody thoughts of the robbers as necessary consequences of barbarism, than criminal aberrations from moral virtue. The language of the play is generally natural. It is strong in a high degree, and powerfully impresses the dictates of revenge, the emotions of terror, and the sentiments of pity."

We have already mentioned the early New York performances of *Kabale und Liebe*, which preceded the London performances by several years. Of this piece a stage version used in an American theatre is still extant. This, an adaptation of Lewis' translation of *Kabale und Liebe* (*The Minister*), made for the Philadelphia stage under the title of *The Harper's Daughter*,¹ gives us an idea how a *Sturm und Drang* drama was shortened for the American stage, and according to what principles it was brought into harmony with the conservative ideas of propriety, morality, and religion.

¹ Published 1813 (cf. No. 152), played 1813-14 at Philadelphia and Baltimore during the season already mentioned when the German drama experienced a remarkable revival. I do not know what relation exists between this version and the adaptation played at Covent Garden, May 4, 1803. This version was attributed to Lewis himself. Cf. Genest, *Account of the English Stage*, Vol. VII, p. 583, also Singer, *Studien zur Litteraturgeschichte, Michael Bernays gewidmet*, 1893, p. 12.

By a bold cut (amounting to more than the average act) all scenes in which Augusta (Lady Milford) appears (Act II, Sc. 1-5, Act IV, Sc. 6-11) were excised;¹ two minor characters, Catherina (Sophie) and Walter (ein Kammerdiener des Fürsten), disappeared in the same change. "It was found necessary to omit the whole character of Augusta—a portion of the drama upon which the great talents of Schiller have been most laboriously employed" are the words in which this action is explained by Wood, for whose stage the adaptation was made and who is possibly the author, or who may have inspired this version. These omissions necessitate a different division of the acts and they undoubtedly disturb the balance of the play, but an American audience of the period would hardly care for more than the thrilling main plot.

Apart from this excision of whole sections of the drama, a great number of omissions, varying in length from a word to a page or more, helped to cut down the drama to about half its original size. All references to the Deity are avoided, except in a few situations where the intensity of feeling seemed to make such appeal allowable. Mad bursts of passion and the exclamations of a distracted mind, the wild despair that drives a tortured creature into urgent appeal to the Deity and links the fate of an individual with the economy of the world, all in fact that may be interpreted as undue familiarity with, or revolt against, Providence, or that was repulsive to American audiences by excess of emotion.

The realism of Schiller's youthful art was too strong for an audience that was accustomed to a more conventional treatment of the characters of the drama. Miller (here called Munster), blustering, verging on coarseness,—but nevertheless honest and honorable—is much toned down, and Elizabeth (Frau Miller) subjected to a similar treatment.

While the American audience submitted to the unlimited introduction of stage horrors and terrors, some of the concrete

¹ Act III, Sc. 4 is also cut.

examples of tyranny and oppression such as were conceivable (even though an exception) in the Germany of the eighteenth century had to be omitted, as unintelligible or repulsive. Declamations against distinctions of class were retained as being unchallengeable in republican America, while usually a conservative policy is brought to bear on anything savoring of radicalism. Of mere sentiment and sentimentality the inhabitants of the new world, as well as those of the old, could stand at that period an amount and a quality that would be nauseating to modern taste, so that the drama did not call for changes from this point of view. Add to these omissions the frequent curtailing of lengthy discussions, of rhetorical repetition, and of elaborate climax, and the statement will seem intelligible that the piece was reduced to one half its original size.

There is nothing added as offset to these many omissions, only a word or a phrase here and there, to establish the necessary connection where omissions or changes had been made. We may regard the adaptation as well suited for its purpose, and must praise the conservative spirit that avoided all attempts at improving Schiller's drama by original efforts. It bears a striking contrast to the Baltimore reprint of 1802, which represents a miserable perversion of the great master's work.

Before leaving the subject of the German drama in America, which, as we have seen, has presented some novel aspects as compared with the history of the German drama in England, I should like to call attention to the reprint of Walter Scott's translation of *Goetz von Berlichingen* (1814, No. 155). Two adaptations from the German by American authors deserve mention only as curiosities. Mordecai Noah adapted Sonnleithner's text to Beethoven's *Fidelio* under the title of the *Castle of Sorrento* (No. 126), without departing far from his original, and a crack-brained youth made a dramatic version of *Rinaldo Rinaldini* (No. 144), by the very simple process of copying out the dialogue from Hinckley's translation of Vulpius' prose romance *Rinaldo Rinaldini*, a curious proof how

the rage for extravagant literature affected America as well as Europe.¹

GERMAN FICTION.

German fiction, although probably not engrossing as large an amount of public attention as the German drama, was nevertheless represented by one of the most brilliant meteors among the literary constellations of the last century, long before the German drama became the admiration of the public. We refer to Goethe's *Sorrows of Werter*, which was reprinted in America at least six times in four different translations during our period.² Of these old prints of *Werter* it is true even more than of the average reprints of the period that they are difficult to trace. They have disappeared from the libraries, succumbing to long and frequent use, or were lost by neglect when the fashion in fiction changed. To many libraries this dangerous work was certainly never granted admittance. It is permissible to regard these prints as a proof that the "Wertherfieber" prevailed also in America, although probably only in a very light form. These American reprints must be regarded as the last ripples of a wave that swept the civilized world. It is of course out of the question that American readers should understand the significance of the work as we now interpret it in the light of Goethe's individual development and the general history of the times. It is to be regarded, even more than in England, as a representative specimen of the highly sentimental literature then in vogue. The popularity of *Werther* in America was sufficient to justify the well known Dr. Benjamin Rush in singling it out as a sample of pernicious novel, the reading of which deserves censure. In his *Thoughts upon the Female Education*³ he adverts to the case of "young ladies who weep away a whole forenoon over the

¹ This puerile effort cannot be from the pen of Dunlap. He mentions *Rinaldo Rinaldini* among his works, probably an acting drama constructed by him from the German original.

² Philadelphia, 1784 (No. 8), Litchfield, Conn., 1789 (10), New York, 1795 (27), Boston, 1798 (39), Boston, 1807 (118), Boston, 1807 (119).

³ Benjamin Rush, *Essays, Literary, Moral, and Philosophical*, 1798.

criminal sorrows of a fictitious Charlotte or Werter," only to refuse a beggar in the afternoon. This is a criticism familiar to the English public and was probably borrowed by Dr. Rush from English sources, like so many opinions during the infancy of our national life.

Werther, like Gessner's *Death of Abel*, gave rise to imitations in England and elsewhere. Of the large number of these imitations and works founded on *Werther*, one at least, the *Letters of Charlotte during her Connexion with Werter*, was reprinted several times.¹ It is a vapid, inane work, utilizing suggestions from its German model to construct a *Werter* without objectionable features. Its only redeeming quality is that its style is not as outrageous as is the case with many imitations of sentimental literature. It was sometimes printed in America in the same volume with, and after, *Werter*, as if intended to act as a sedative after the soul-stirring lines that preceded it.

Schiller's brilliant work of fiction, the *Ghostseer*, was reprinted in two American editions representing two different translations.²

The mention of Schiller's *Ghostseer* suggests a few remarks about Charles Brockden Brown, the first American writer of fiction whose works possess more than ordinary merit. His *Wieland* (1798) is a powerful tale of terror, a species of literature in which the Germans easily carried off the palm, and for which they were supposed to furnish the best models.³ But we

¹ 1797 (No. 35), 1798 (No. 40), 1807 (120). The last two editions were printed in the same volume with the *Sorrows of Werter*. A German translation, which appeared in 1825, claims to have been made after the fifth American edition. About the character of this work, cf. J. W. Appell, *Werther und seine Zeit*, Leipzig, 1865, pp. 12-15, T. Süpfle, *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Litteraturgeschichte*, N. F., Vol. VI (1893), p. 312.

² Reprinted, New York, 1796 (No. 33), and Philadelphia [1800?-1803] (No. 71). The *Ghostseer* (version No. 33) was also printed as a serial in the *New York Weekly Magazine*, 1795, pp. 16 ff., under the title *The Apparitionist*. The same magazine published Tschink's *Victim of Magical Delusion*, a weak imitation of Schiller's *Ghostseer*.

³ I shall not enter here on the consideration of a possible influence of Schiller's *Ghostseer* on *Wieland*. Professor Learned informs me that he has devoted attention to this subject and I refer to some remarks on the same, which he intends to publish soon.

are interested in the novel from another point of view. Brown reveals in the same a sympathetic attitude towards German culture, which is astonishing with an American during this early period, and for which it will be difficult to find a parallel among those who, like Brown, had never lived in Germany.¹ The characters of the piece—the scene is laid in the neighborhood of Philadelphia—are of German extraction and cultivate the poetry of their ancestors at their new home. He makes Wieland, the central character of the novel, a connection of the well-known German poet of that name. It is possible that Brown had made the acquaintance of cultured Germans, either at Philadelphia, his home, or at New York, where he resided at this time.

From 1799–1800 Brown published at New York the *Monthly Magazine and American Review*. This magazine, which was published at the time when the influence of German literature had reached the high-water mark in England, devotes more attention to German literature than any other periodical of the period that falls within the scope of our investigation. It seems a petty affair, measured by our modern standards, but, in comparison with former American reviews, shows an advance that is most creditable to its editor. Brown's friend Dunlap, whose labors in introducing the German drama into America have been noticed at some length, and other literary characters of New York were contributors. We find there, among others, reviews of Dunlap's and Smith's translations from Kotzebue, a life of Bürger, anecdotes of Kotzebue and Schiller, an account

¹ It is this generally sympathetic point of view that foreigners lacked for a long time in their attitude toward Germany, even if they felt an interest in certain products of its literature. From this consideration the question where Brown got his information gains interest. His source was apparently Baron Riesbeck's *Travels through Germany*, translated by the Rev. Mr. Maty, 3 vols., London, 1787. This work by J. K. R. Riesbeck (the title of Baron is fictitious) was indeed sufficient to serve as a revelation to the average American or English reader. Brown's conceptions as well as misconceptions of German literature are satisfactorily explained from the assumption that he was impressed by this work.

of the state of the German stage, remarks on the literary labor of the Germans, and most interesting of all, an article on the study of German. These samples will show to what extent the attention of the literary men of New York was focused on German literature.

The works of fiction may generally be assigned to two different classes. We have on the one hand the extravagant fiction that followed in the wake of the *Robbers*, the *Ghostseer*, and *Goetz von Berlichingen*, on the other hand the sentimental and "family" novel ("Familienroman"). Of an older type of German fiction (if we except Gessner's *Death of Abel*) there seems to be only one example among American reprints. This is a translation from Wieland, *Socrates out of his Senses*, Newburgh, N. Y., 1797 (No. 36). To reprint one of Wieland's novels of Greek life was a bold undertaking, as one edition usually more than supplied the needs of the much larger British reading public. Of the original English translation of this work, in particular, the statement is made that it was "received with utter indifference by the public."¹

Of the extravagant works of German fiction, known variously under the name of tales of terror, of horror, or of wonder, a number were reprinted in this country. Such are Wächter's *Black Valley* (No. 82), in which thrilling adventures are introduced, and Spiess' *Mountain Cottager* (No. 69), for the character of which we must refer to the striking motto: "Ye visions that before me roll,—that freeze my blood,—that shake my soul,—are ye the phantoms of a dream?" Vulpus' *Rinaldo Rinaldini* (No. 144) was dramatized, as already stated, and Lewis' translation of Zschokke's prose romance *Abaellino* reprinted twice under the title of the German original, which Dunlap had made generally popular in America by his adaptation of the German drama (No. 138, 139). Add to these Lewis' collection, *Romantic Tales* (No. 135—the *Tales of Terror* are mentioned later under poetry—), and the *Tales of Wonder, of Humour and*

¹ W. Taylor, *Historic Survey of German Literature*, 1830, Vol. II, p. 314.

Sentiment of the Misses Plumtre, which possibly contribute some literature of the kind, and we have a fair collection of tales of wonder, etc., in which Schiller's *Ghostseer* should figure as the most prominent and most brilliant example. It may not be amiss to introduce into this company the venerable patriarch of the German tales of wonder, the history of Dr. Faustus. As in England, the story seems to have been popular and to have been spread in the form of chapbooks (No. 25, 83, 176).

It requires no particular effort at the present day to deride this grotesque and often almost nonsensical class of literature. What significance this type had for the development of German literature is irrelevant in this connection. But in England and America a rough disturbance was necessary to wake the drowsy muse. A rude plough was needed to break the hardened, barren soil for the coming of a new crop. The free and extravagant variation, by imitators, of the themes that had been more or less clearly enunciated by Goethe and Schiller in the works of their youth, was, from some points of view, better adapted to affect England and America, where the ideals of the genuine *Sturm und Drang* were not intelligible, from causes that are apparent to every student of the world's literature but need not here be repeated.

We will call to mind only one of these stories, that of Abaelino, who, disguised as a bandit, terrifies, without the help of an accomplice, the whole state of Venice, effecting its salvation, while apparently its greatest scourge. He is as quick in changing his disguises, as he is superhuman in his actions. The *Abaellino* may not be literature of a high grade; the author himself smiled when, in maturer years, after a career of lofty effort and well-deserved literary success, he looked back upon the child of his youthful fancy. But if we consider the effect which the prevalence and popularity of such literature must have had on a taste formed by the models of the classical, or, often more correctly, pseudo-classical authors of the last century, we will appreciate how they were helpful in introducing, both in America and England, a bolder and more romantic form of

literature. These authors, many of them a sort of talented literary vagabonds, take a rank in German literature even lower than they deserve, because they must stand comparison with the greatest heroes of lofty artistic endeavor. But they are nevertheless a robust race, often prodigal sons of a good house, bearing traces of having associated with good company. Monk Lewis' puerilities do not possess the childlike ingenuousness of the German products; lacking spontaneousness in the handling of his extravagant themes, his pieces seem like intentional caricatures of his German models. It is not the intention to follow out these suggestions in this connection, as it would lead us beyond the limits which have been set.

A second type of German fiction, although not as characteristic as the tale of terror, obtained considerable vogue in England and America. This was the sentimental and "family" novel ("Familienroman"). A number of Kotzebue's stories, which were carried along with his dramas on the wave of popularity that swept the world, were translated in England and America. Many of these appear to belong entirely, or by some of their characteristics, in this class of literature, others seem to have more the character of historical novels. It has not been found possible to examine them in detail and I simply give a list of American editions, referring to the index for further references: *The Beautiful Unknown* (translated by Charles Smith of New York), *The Constant Lover*, *Ildegerte*, *The Pigeon* (translated by a Philadelphian), *The Sufferings of the Family of Ortenberg*, *Zaida* (translated by Charles Smith).

August Lafontaine, the representative writer of the German family novel, found readers in England as well as Germany. Although he is justly regarded as a mere manufacturer of novels, without a spark of artistic individuality, he is sometimes honored by the name of the celebrated Lafontaine. In his successes and inherent weaknesses he is aptly compared to Kotzebue. In 1810 a New York publisher reprinted the *Village Pastor and His Children* (No. 142), and announced his intention to republish all the works of Lafontaine "if the public

encourage the sale of them." He would have found the resources of his printing office taxed if the public had kept him to his word and had forced him to print the 150, or more, German originals, or even the two or three dozen translations made in England. We have noticed only one other reprint of Lafontaine, *Romulus*, Baltimore, 1814 (No. 159).¹

Finally a reprint of an English translation of Pestalozzi's *Lienhard und Gertrud* (No. 80) is to be mentioned. The English original translation states that it was made "with the hope of its being useful to the lower orders of society," which remark reminds one of the worthy Hannah More and her circle.

This earlier type of German fiction (printed and reprinted in America about 1800) is, after the lapse of a decade or two, replaced by another class of fiction of a more modern type. The first example of this kind, which I am able to find, is Dr. Tobias Watkins' translation of Zschokke's *Das Abenteuer der Neujahrsnacht* (No. 172). The translation has no particular merit and probably reached only a small circle of readers. But it is interesting as a proof of German studies in the circle of Baltimore literati, of which Watkins was a prominent member. It seems to be the earliest translation of this popular tale, of which half a dozen or more translations have appeared. It is, in fact, as far as I can see, the earliest translation of that type of stories which gained Zschokke a well-founded national and international reputation as a skillful narrator.² In 1822 appeared a reprint of La Motte Fouqué's *Minstrel Love* (*Sängerliebe*), in 1824 two editions of the same author's *Undine*, and Chamisso's *Peter Schlemihl*. The appearance of these products of the romantic or post-romantic period indicates a new phase in the appreciation of German literature, which, however interesting it may be, cannot be considered here.

¹Two novels whose authors are not mentioned, seem to belong here, to judge by their titles. They are: *Eliza, or the Pattern of Women* (No. 84), and *He Loves Me Better Than His Life* (No. 124).

²We will recall the fact that Dunlap was the first to introduce *Abaellino*, the principal work of Zschokke's youthful "Sturm und Drang" period, in an English garb.

GERMAN POETRY.

The appreciation of poetry written in a foreign language encounters obstacles not met with in the case of prose. By an imperfect knowledge of the language the subtle beauties of poetry are obscured, as the beauties of art and nature are hidden to an impaired vision. As German was practically little understood during our period, this aspect of German studies does not concern us greatly. But the same difficulties that embarrass the student of poetry are encountered, increased a hundredfold, by the translator, whose task it is to re-embodify in his own language the conceptions of the original and the indefinable charm of poetic diction. It will not be astonishing, therefore, to find that the gems of German poetry, perhaps the highest consummation of modern poetic literature, were entirely unknown to the public of the English-speaking world. Two German poets nevertheless gained in their English version a popularity which made each of them *facile princeps* in his own species of literature. These two poets were Bürger and Wieland. The German drama, as far as it was known to the American public, was a prose drama and does not call for consideration in this connection.

The popularity, in England, of Bürger's ballad *Lenore* is well known.¹ The English translations of this ballad, "the best ballad of the century," were undoubtedly imported into America, like all the various products of the British press. Its moderate size also made it suitable for reprinting in the periodical press and it was, we may presume, reprinted in that way.²

¹ Cf. A. Brandl in Erich Schmidt's *Charakteristiken*, Berlin, 1886, pp. 244-248.

² A version of Bürger's *Des Pfarrers Tochter von Taubenhain*, the *Lass of Fair Wone*, was reprinted in the *American Universal Magazine*, Philadelphia, Vol. I, 1797, pp. 211-215 (47 stanzas).

Parodies of the German ballad style also found their way into the periodical press. The *Philadelphia Repository and Weekly Register* for 1800-1801, Vol. I, p. 328, reprints a burlesque of the German ballads (it "appeared in *The Dessert to the True American* two and a half years ago") beginning :

"Cold blows the blast ;—the night's obscure.
The mansion's crazy wainscots crack :
The sun had sunk : and all the moor,
Like every other moor was black."

The opinion of many English lovers of poetry about Wieland's *Oberon* is aptly expressed in the words of Thomas Campbell: "I cannot conceive a more perfect poet than their favorite Wieland." It was Sotheby's excellent translation of the *Oberon* (1798) that made Wieland's poem accessible to the great mass of English readers. About the time when Sotheby translated the poem, John Quincy Adams, sixth president of the United States, at that time (1797-1801) Minister to Prussia, conceived the same plan. He gives an account of his translation of *Oberon* in a letter addressed to Charles Follen, dated October 24, 1831:¹

"Thirty years have passed away since a residence of four years at Berlin, and excursions into Saxony and Silesia, had given me an enthusiastic relish for German literature. At that time, Wieland was *there* I think decidedly the most popular of the German poets, and although there was in his genius neither the originality nor the deep pathos of Göthe, or Klopstock, or Schiller, there was something in the playfulness of his imagination, in the tenderness of his sensibility, in the sunny cheerfulness of his philosophy, and in the harmony of his versification, which, to me, were inexpressibly delightful." . . . "Among my exercises in learning the German language,² was a complete translation into English verse of his '*Oberon*,' which I should have published, but that Mr. Sotheby got the start of me. When I saw his translation, I was content to keep mine in my *porte-feuille*. My German teacher sent a copy of the first canto of my translation to Wieland himself, and asked him his opinion of it, which he gave with frankness. He compared it with Sotheby's translation, then just published, and gave the palm of poetry to him, and of fidelity to me; a decision which my own judgment fully confirmed."

The poem then proceeds to tell, how Molly is visited by the ghost of Thomas, the gardener, her deceased lover. He had fallen into the well, was drowned, and is now a water spirit. He carries off Molly and plumps her in the well. That the parody is directed against Bürger's *Lenore* is clear.

¹ *The Works of Charles Follen*, Boston, 1842, Vol. I, pp. 306, 307.

² Adams speaks of his German studies in his diary. Cf. *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, edited by Charles F. Adams, Vol. I, pp. 217, 225.

While it thus came about that the *Oberon* of Wieland was published in an English translation, not in the version that the American statesman had made, there was no reason why Sotheby's translation should not be republished in America. A reprint appeared at Newport, R. I., in 1810 (No. 145). It was not a simple reprint. An anonymous American editor¹ had added a lengthy preface, which contains the highest praise of the poem and poet. We will quote at some length from this preface, which is written in the elaborate style that characterizes the cultured American of the early part of our century. We will smile at the vast prospects of Wieland's future fame, which the editor unfolds to us with the fervor of the true visionary. And what American of the olden times did not become a visionary at the prospects of his country?

"In England where German literature is perhaps too highly appreciated, and excessively cultivated, it is unnecessary to declare who Wieland was." . . . "It is hardly, however, a matter of reproach, or regret, that we are authorized in presupposing such an unacquaintance with German literature, in this young country, as to conceive it indispensable that we should prefix to an American edition, something to attract attention, and interest curiosity in relation to the extraordinary character and transcendent merit of the German poet: enough merely to evince to the public, that we solicit their favor to an undertaking that deserves it." The editor then gives a glowing account of the court of Weimar, bestows the highest praise on Wieland's *Agathon* and *Oberon*, but not without censuring his attitude toward the French Revolution. He proceeds: "We have introduced an epic poet with proud pretensions in a country where he is, in a great degree, a stranger; and it is natural that on such

¹ According to the *Providence Athenæum Library Catalogue*, 1853, p. 433, the Hon. William Hunter, the acknowledged leader of the Newport bar, was the anonymous editor. There seems no reason to doubt this assertion. (Cf. about Hunter Appleton's *Cyclopedia of American Biography*, G. C. Channing, *Early Recollections of Newport, R. I.*, Boston, 1868, pp. 119-120, F. Moore, *American Eloquence*, Vol. II, pp. 335-336.)

an occasion curiosity should be busy in inquiry." The excellence of Sotheby's translation, he states, is recognized by Wieland in the *Annual Register* for 1798. "If a brother bard, on the first appearance of *Oberon*, had predicted its splendid fortunes and ventured to announce, that even in the life of its author it would be praised and admired, not only in every existing European nation but also in the embryo republic of the new world, it would have been regarded as an effusion too adulatory for friendship, and too extravagant for poetry. But all this is realized. The fame of Wieland is as widespread as that of Horace, and its permanence as finally identified with literature itself. Both of these poets, perhaps, have the best security for their future glory in the rapid progress and improvement of this, the freest, and such we hope destined to be, the most literate and enlightened country of the world."

This edition was reviewed in the *Monthly Anthology*.¹ I quote only a few remarks in regard to the work itself: "We should do an injustice to the author and translator, if we should select any passages from the *Oberon*, for its execution is so remarkably equal, that the reader finds no prominent beauties or blemishes." "In his *Oberon* he seems to have designed a poem in which he could concentrate all his mental energies, and unite the prominent beauties of the different kinds of writing in which he excels." "Its general character is rather seductive and fascinating than great or magnificent. It consists of a tissue of incidents, which Wieland has connected and arranged with such admirable skill as to form one of the most interesting stories in any language. He seldom attempts the sublime or terrible, and when he does he totally miscarries, for he immediately falls into an imposing and gigantick, rather than natural train of thought. He is more successful in description than in dialogue. Like the machinery of his poem, he seems to operate by enchantment." . . . "Yet amidst these occa-

¹ *The Monthly Anthology and Boston Review*, Boston, Vol. IX, 1810, pp. 191-194.

sional defects the spirit of poetry shines forth with surpassing splendour, and the *Oberon*, considered as a whole, exhibits an exuberance of imagination, unparalleled in modern poetry."

The publication of Wieland's *Oberon* at Newport is possibly responsible for the following unfavorable remarks by an anonymous critic in the *General Repository and Review*.¹ He praises, for its harmony of versification, Sotheby's translation of *Oberon*, "which, though beautiful, has been extravagantly overrated." "But we are not disposed to give very high applause to the writer [Sotheby], who has made accessible and grateful to the English reader a poem, discovering a taste egregiously faulty, and whose boasted excellence of moral is more than counterbalanced by the seducing wantonness of its descriptions."

We add one more opinion about Wieland,² expressed in a somewhat youthful and extravagant manner by Joseph Story, later eminent as a jurist:

"Wieland, the darling of the German muses, by turns sweet, affecting, magnificent, sublime, commanding, terrible: the favorite of fancy, to whom she unveiled her most beautiful forms, drest in the voluptuousness of the loves, and the translucent snow of the graces. His works nec Jovis ira, nec ignis, nec poterit ferrum, nec edax abolere retustas."

These opinions about Wieland's *Oberon* give us an idea what a charm he exerted over his contemporaries, nor is that charm quite lost even at the present day. But we have long ago learned to look on Wieland only as a promise of greater things to come, the poetic master works of Goethe and Schiller, which have replaced all earlier efforts in the esteem of the critical reader. These works were not absolutely unknown, but the standard by which they were to be measured had not yet been discovered. In 1805 there appeared in Richmond a reprint of Holcroft's translation of Goethe's *Hermann und*

¹ *The General Repository and Review*, Cambridge, Mass., Vol. I, 1812, p. 411. The article is attributed to C. Elliot.

² Joseph Story, *The Power of Solitude*, a poem, Salem, 1804. (Note IV.)

Dorothea (No. 108). The true appreciation of this one poem would have been equivalent to a full insight into the nature of Goethe's poetry. But we cannot assume anything of the kind. It was perhaps regarded somewhat on a level with Gessner's *Idylls*. Nevertheless it remains one of the most interesting reprints in our list. Some of Goethe's best known poems, the *Erkling* and *Fisherman*, and Bürger's *Lenora* and *Wild Huntsman*, were also published in Lewis' *Tales of Wonder*,¹ which is sufficient to show in what light they were viewed by Lewis.

GERMAN PHILOSOPHY, THEOLOGY, AND PEDAGOGY.

The title adopted for this chapter might lead to misunderstandings unless qualified by certain statements. A comprehensive consideration of German theology, philosophy, and pedagogy in America would lie entirely outside the limits of our investigation. But it seemed desirable to consider under this heading a number of authors whose works lie on the border line between literature and the disciplines mentioned, or whose works can be considered as having some relation, direct or indirect, with new developments in the literary culture of our country.

One of the most interesting traces of an early influence of German literature is the popularity evidently enjoyed by the small book known as Lavater's *Aphorisms*. It is curious to contemplate this collection of effusions, bearing so clearly the impress of the *Sturm und Drang*, create for itself in distant America a large circle of readers. At least four early American editions of this work were printed, three of them in 1790 (Philadelphia, Boston, New York), one in 1793.² Often such duplication of prints in various places was due to the disorganized condition of the American book trade, and the imperfect means of communication, which restricted prints to a local circulation to an extent that is unintelligible to us at the present day. But we may assume even for this earlier period the same peculiarity

¹ Reprinted, New York, 1801. (No. 79.)

² No. 14, 15, 16, 21.

that is so characteristic of American life in our century, namely, that public attention, once aroused in regard to any subject, concentrates itself, for a time, in that direction. This may not be proof of a deep and critical appreciation, but it shows an intelligent interest in whatever happens to engage general attention at the time. Thus much that is bad and indifferent, thus much, also, that is of the best has floated in on the current of present popularity, no matter what may first have given a start to the movement. How the *Aphorisms* continued in vogue, at least in New England, is shown by the Newburyport print of 1793, which would not have been issued if the Boston print had not sold well. That Lavater's *Aphorisms* were not forgotten is proved by the fact that they are used for two decades, to fill, here and there, an empty corner of the page in the periodicals of the time. They were stray grains of golden wisdom.

The unabridged editions of Lavater's *Physiognomy* were too large and expensive to tempt an American printer; they were imported from England when desired by American libraries or readers. But an abridgment of Holcroft's translation was reprinted at Boston (No. 106). Through his *Aphorisms* and his *Physiognomy*, Lavater became widely known in England and America, and not infrequently reference is found in American magazines to his physiognomical theories. This popularity gave weight to a pamphlet of a political nature more than a literary one, his *Remonstrances, addressed to the Executive Directory of the French Republic, against the Invasion of Switzerland*, which, originally printed in London, was reprinted at New York in 1799.¹

Soon after Lavater's *Aphorisms* the work of another Swiss author gained in the transatlantic republic such a foothold that the work may be said to have been in America, as in England, "one of the few foreign books that became really popular during the last century." Zimmermann's book on *Solitude* was

¹ London printed. New York: reprinted by John Tiebout (Homer's-head), No. 358 Pearl-street, 1799.

first reprinted in America in 1793 and only disappeared from the book market in comparatively recent times. We have counted ten editions (cf. index) during the period which we have under consideration.. The version of Zimmermann's *Solitude* that was popular in America in reprints was not a direct translation from the German, but a translation from the French adaptation of Mercier, who had confined himself to the portion of the original treating of the advantages of solitude and made changes even there. The portion treating of the disadvantages of solitude, which had been published in England as a supplement to the part already published, was seldom, if ever, reprinted during our period.

In Zimmermann's book we have something like the reign of sensitiveness instead of the usual sensibility. The instinctive shrinking of a sensitive, perhaps somewhat conceited nature from contact with the external word is perceptible on every page, although we do not wish it to be inferred from these remarks that Zimmermann did not adequately express much of the best thought on the subject of which his work treated. In the popularity of his book in America we have another example how the sometimes shrinking, sometimes self-assertive individualism, which is so peculiar to Germany during the last century, found a certain response in a civilization where the attitude of society towards the individual, and the individual towards society, has developed a far more self dependent and less sensitive type of character. The popularity of Lavater's *Aphorisms* presents a parallel case, perhaps still more interesting.

Zimmermann had been introduced to the American public many years before by a Philadelphia reprint (1778, No. 7) of his *Strictures on National Pride (Vom Nationalstolze)*, a readable book on national prejudices and failings. It appears that the two Swiss authors Gessner and Zimmermann were the only representatives of German literature whose works were reprinted in America during revolutionary and colonial times. A more reliable translation appeared later (reprinted, New York, 1799), at a time when Zimmermann's name had become famous through his *Solitude*.

In this connection a reprint of Knigge's *Practical Philosophy of Social Life* (*Über den Umgang mit Menschen*) (No. 109) might be mentioned.

A number of translations from the German have received a place in the "List of Translations," although they belong rather to the field of pedagogy. There is some justification in considering them inasmuch as they are children's literature. They were, however, rather included on account of the humanitarian spirit of the German "Aufklärung," with which they glow, and as interesting predecessors of the more technical pedagogical literature which came from Germany at a later period.

The most interesting of these is Salzmann's *Elements of Morality* (*Moralisches Elementarbüchlein*), translated by the well-known Mary Wollstonecraft. It was reprinted three or four times about 1795, and again about 1811 (cf. index). Incidents of child life are used as a vehicle for moral instruction. Campe's stories, *Columbus*, *Cortez*, *Pizarro*, and especially the *New Robinson Crusoe* were reprinted (cf. index). They contain history and fiction adapted so as to serve as moral and educational food for youthful minds. We also mention again in this connection Pestalozzi's *Leonard and Gertrude* (No. 80).¹

Among the theological works which we are justified in mentioning here those seem the most interesting which can be regarded as a connecting link between German rationalism and the Unitarian movement of New England. It is principally from this point of view that we have taken into our translations the works of the German divines Zollikofer and Sturm. Sturm's *Reflections on the Works of God* was a work which was extremely

¹ During this period a personal acquaintance with German pedagogues, and an intimate knowledge of German pedagogy, was probably extremely rare in America. Of J. C. Cabell, who co-operated with Jefferson in founding the University of Virginia, the statement is made: "While in Switzerland [between 1803 and 1806], he visited Yverdon, and on conference with the celebrated Pestalozzi, and examination of his system, he was so much struck with certain of his improvements in primary instruction, that long afterwards he sought to have them naturalized in Virginia" (Jefferson and Cabell, *Early History of the University of Virginia*, 1856, p. xxix).

popular in England, and also, although perhaps in a less degree, in America (cf. index). A New England divine, Thaddeus M. Harris, of some eminence in his day, rearranged the English translation, compressed it, added to it, and published it under the title *Beauties of Nature Delineated* (1801, cf. 70). The next year it went through a second edition. Of Harris' religious convictions the following statement is made: "In his theological opinions he belonged to the early liberal school. The spirit of the Gospel, its lessons for the heart rather than the speculative reason, its obligations, its comforts, its divine assurances, were to him the believer's great concern."¹ The nature of the book was such that it was acceptable to both liberal and orthodox thought.²

The popularity of the sermons of Zollikofer, a notable representative of the extremest type of rationalism, is more interesting. It is not astonishing that all of these (with the exception of a small pamphlet containing two sermons, No. 175) were published in the bailiwick of Unitarianism, in Massachusetts. T. M. Harris, whose name has just been mentioned, made an abridgement of one of the English translations, called *Exercises of Piety*, which had two editions (1803, No. 101). Zollikofer was the leading representative of German pulpit eloquence known in England and America, although his effusive style was not to everybody's taste, apart from the dissent which his theological views might excite. The *Monthly Anthology*, reviewing his *Seven Sermons on the Reformation*, says:³ "We have hitherto been accustomed to value Zollikofer chiefly for his simple and practical views of religion, and the gentle and insinuating eloquence with which he recommends them. These

¹ N. K. Frothingham, *Memoirs of T. M. Harris*, Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, 4 S., Vol. II, p. 13.

² The Rev. Samuel Knox, *An Essay on the Best System of Education*, Baltimore, 1799, p. 107, proposes that a selection from the book be read every morning to impress the pupils with feelings of "reverence of the Deity, of his government of the world," etc.

³ *The Monthly Anthology and Boston Review*, Vol. VI, 1809, p. 181.

sermons on the Reformation are written with more vigour and compression of thought than we have thought him capable of."

A translation of Jung-Stilling's *Scenes in the World of Spirits* (No. 163) by Gottlieb Shoher,¹ of Salem, N. C., is interesting as being probably the earliest translation into English of one of Jung-Stilling's works. The translation is a proof of the attraction which mysticism had for many of the Germans of America. Haller's *Letters to his Daughter on the Truths of the Christian Religion* was an orthodox defence of the Christian religion that derived weight from the eminence of its author. It was reprinted at New Haven (No. 92). We should not forget in this connection the Rev. J. C. Kunze, who, to make the German hymns accessible to American readers, published a collection of them translated into English.² As I have not seen a copy of the book I quote the words of Dr. Francis about the same: "With assistance Dr. Kunze prepared a collection of hymns, translated into English: they were the most singular specimens of couplets and triplets I ever perused, yet they possessed much of the intensity and spiritualism of German poetry. This was in the fall of 1795."

REVIEW.—NEW DEVELOPMENTS.

The *General Repository and Review*, Cambridge (Mass.), one of the early periodicals indicative of the growing intellectual culture of Boston, contains an anonymous review of Musæens' *Popular Tales*.³ After giving some specimens of these tales, and stating how these tales were collected the reviewer proceeds: "We have so few translations from the German, that a knowledge of it is the only medium of getting access to the immense stores of science and literature contained in it. Our politics

¹ Cf. about Shoher the *Cyclopedia of American Biography*.

² J. W. Francis, *Old New York*, 1858, p. 45. The full title as made up from this source and M. D. Learned, *Opening of the Bechstein Library*, 1896, p. 46, would seem to be: *A Hymn and Prayer-book for the use of such Lutheran Churches as use the English Language*. Published by Hurtin & Commandinger. New York: John Tiebout, 1795. 12°.

³ In Vol. IV, 1812, pp. 91-105.

have led us to turn our eyes so exclusively on France and England, that we hardly realize the existence of any other nations in Europe. Yet, however absurd and heretical it may seem in an American to insinuate the possibility that any other people should ever pretend to a rivalry with those two great countries, on whose prejudices our parties are made to hinge, it is not to be disguised, that the Germans themselves entertain very different notions on the subject. They not only lay claim to a comparison with the other nations in Europe, but they actually think themselves entitled to assert the very first rank." The reviewer then recalls the ancient importance of the German Empire, glorifies the Reformation, asserts the pre-eminence of Germany in all the domain of philosophy in its most extended sense ("with the single exception, perhaps of the claims of France to pre-eminence in physics") and advises his countrymen to study German, which he hopes will exert a favorable influence on the English language. He next proceeds: "The German language is particularly rich in that department of literature, which generally holds out the greatest attractions to the student of foreign languages, viz—poetry and belles lettres. In theatrical writing, for instance, which in France and England seems to be among the lost arts, German literature is overflowing with excellent productions of living, or just deceased authors—'that rival all, but Shakespeare's name, below.' To prove this assertion it is sufficient to mention the names of Schiller, Goethe, Kotzebue, and Lessing. Garbled and miserable translations, and imitations, or rather caricatures of them, have been the stay and staff of the English stage for twenty years. Everything may be ridiculed, and party spirit has found it within the scope of its policy to ridicule the German theatre." He finally states that the difficulties of learning German are not as insurmountable as they are generally supposed to be.

These statements may seem commonplace to us, because not only the scholar's estimate of German culture, but also public opinion on this subject has long become fixed. It was a bold and unique statement for the times, and has therefore been

placed at the head of the chapter in which we are about to take leave of the subject of early influence of German literature in America. A manifesto like this marks indeed a new departure. Few even in England would have dared to weigh German culture on equal balance with French and English culture.

The anonymous writer of this article was Alexander Hill Everett,¹ a man of great merits, though not as well known as his brother, Edward Everett. He had probably studied German while he was associated with John Quincy Adams in St. Petersburg, where German influence was strong and the study of the language and literature could be pursued under the most favorable conditions.²

The review is interesting, however, from another point of view. It emphasizes the fact that impresses itself readily on any one who has engaged in a study of the period. French was at that time the only foreign language taught and studied in America, where French grammars, French texts, and bilingual texts in English and French were printed in not inconsiderable numbers. The history of French influence is well known. Dating back to the fellowship in arms during the Revolutionary War, becoming a powerful political factor during the French Revolution, it continued such for a long time, in the way hinted at by Hill. Even apart from these considerations, the established reputation of France as the home of good taste and the brilliancy of its intellectual life and literature would have given it a position that could not easily be assailed.

There was an earlier time when the great Frederick was the most popular person in this country, when the French were hated enemies, and native poets celebrated the glorious victory of Rossbach. Making due allowance for the overstrained and

¹ The article was republished in his *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*, Second Series, Boston, 1846, pp. 30-144.

² The *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, New York, Vol. X (N. S.), 1842, p. 461, states that he studied at St. Petersburg, among other things, the modern languages.

inflated language of the period, we cannot but feel that the poet's heart is in such effusions as these :¹

'The Royal Comet.

Mistaken astronomers, gaze not so high;
 The comet foretold is not yet in the sky.
 It shines here on earth, though departed from Heaven,
 And remarkably flam'd last year—fifty-seven:
 In Woden's bold figure, three thousand years past,
 O'er ancient Germania its lustre it cast:
 Next wearing, Arminius, thy form, it returned:
 And fatal to Rome's blasted regions it burned.
 Now, attended with all the thunders of war,
 Our Prussia's great Frederick is that great Blazing Star.
 Heaven's proxy to nations oppressed, but a sign
 To tyrants he comes of the vengeance divine.

Another specimen from the same poem :

O'er ocean from Europe his influence hurled,
 Shall animate here, O George, thy New World.
 Our laws, our religion, our rights he befriends,
 And conquests o'er savage invaders portends.

These remarks may not seem very relevant to our subject, but they afford us an opportunity of pointing out the importance which Frederick's international reputation had in increasing the esteem in which the German nationality was held. During the whole eighteenth century Frederick the Great remains probably the best known and most celebrated person of foreign birth in the estimation of America, and if any American attempted, as sometimes happened, to eulogize the German nationality or praise their literature, he never neglected to refer

¹ *The American Magazine and Monthly Chronicle for the British Colonies*, Vol. I, 1757-58, p. 551. These lines are by the Rev. James Sterling of Kent County, Md. More such poetry may be found pp. 240, 280. F. Kapp, *Friedrich der Grosse und die Vereinigten Staaten*, Leipzig, 1871, p. 11, gives further proofs of Frederick's popularity in the American colonies.

his readers to the possibilities latent in a people that had produced such a hero as Frederick the Great.

One great obstacle to German studies and a true appreciation of German civilization was the remoteness of the country from America. Few American travelers visited Germany. England and France were usually the goal of their ambition. If an American touched German soil it was usually as a traveler along the course of the Rhine, on his way from the rich and important Netherlands to France.¹ It is needless to say that it was impossible to gain an impression of German life during such a short trip in one of the least progressive parts of Germany, the territory of the bishop electors. When Aaron Burr visited Weimar in 1810, he found that the only Americans known there were Poinsett [J. R. Poinsett] and a Mr. Smith, both from South Carolina.² A great contrast with the number of Americans who later visited Weimar!

John Quincy Adams, having enjoyed the privilege of a residence in Germany, besides being a man of high culture and literary tastes, may perhaps be regarded as the father of German studies in America, such as we have learned to identify with the highly respectable culture of New England. The account he gives of his journey in Silesia shows a most sympathetic attitude towards the German people. He says of them:³ "In the manners and conversations of these persons, upon the whole, we found a frankness, a cordiality and good nature truly republican, or which at least I love to consider as such. They speak with openness and freedom of their own government, which they praise and blame according as they think it deserves." Of course we do not wish to give the impression that John Quincy Adams was the only American who, while living abroad, considered it worth his while to study German. But there were certainly only few exceptions to our statement that German was

¹ Jefferson made this trip. (Cf. *Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. by H. A. Washington, New York, 1859, Vol. IX, pp. 378-395.)

² *The Private Journal of Aaron Burr*, New York, 1858, p. 389.

³ J. Q. Adams, *Journey to Silesia*, London, 1804, p. 22.

not studied by Americans during the end of the last and beginning of our century.¹

The difficulties that beset the student who was ambitious of acquiring the German language at Boston about the year 1813, are described by Ticknor in a most amusing fashion. He says, speaking of his own experience:² "The first intimation I ever had on the subject [excellence of German Universities] was from Mme. de Staël's work on Germany, just then published.³ My next came from a pamphlet, by Villers, to defend the University of Göttingen from the ill intentions of Jérôme Bonaparte, the King of Westphalia, in which he gave a sketch of the University and its courses of study. My astonishment at these revelations was increased by an account of its library, given, by an Englishman who had been at Göttingen, to my friend, the Rev. Samuel C. Thacher. I was sure that I should like to study at such a university, but it was in vain that I endeavored to get further knowledge upon the subject. I would have gladly prepared for it by learning the language I should

¹ Joel Barlow, the poet, seems to have known German (Cf. C. B. Todd, *Life and Letters of Joel Barlow*, 1886, p. 274.), and Gouverneur Morris tells us in his diary how he took up the study of the language.

² *Life and Letters of George Ticknor*, Boston, 1876, Vol. I, p. 11.

³ An American reprint of the English translation (1813) appeared: *Germany*, by the Baroness Staël Holstein, 3 vols. in 2, New York, Eastburn, Kirk & Co., 1814.

In speaking of this important source of information for the history of German literature, it would be unfair to pass in silence the older work of an American author, which devotes a large share of attention to German literature. I mean Samuel Miller's *Brief Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century*, New York, T. and J. Swords, 1803. I quote a sample: "So many interesting works in literature and science have been published in Germany . . . that the acquisition of the language seems now to be regarded by the literati of Europe as of equal importance with that of the French and English" (p. 113). It is not possible to quote the many sympathetic notices which he accords to German writers. I quote as a curiosity a remark about *Faust*: "The *Faust* of the celebrated Goethe of Germany occupies a high place in the list of modern satirical writings."

Dr. Samuel Miller belongs to the literary circle of Dunlap and C. B. Brown. About the beginning of our century New York, more than any other place seems to have shown an interest in German literature.

have to use there, but there was no one in Boston who could teach me. At Jamaica Plains there was a Dr. Brosius, a native of Strasburg, who gave instructions in mathematics. He was willing to do what he could for me in German, but he warned me that his pronunciation was very bad, as was that of all Alsace, which had become a part of France. Nor was it possible to get books. I borrowed a Meidinger's grammar, French and German, from my friend Mr. Everett, and sent to New Hampshire, where I knew there was a German Dictionary, and procured it. I also obtained a copy of Goethe's 'Werther' in German (through Mr. William S. Shaw's connivance) from amongst Mr. J. Q. Adams' books, deposited by him, on going to Europe, in the Athenæum, under Mr. Shaw's care, but without giving him permission to lend them. I got so far as to write a translation of 'Werther,' but no farther." The account which Ticknor gives of the difficulties under which German studies were pursued in Boston, about the year 1813, may be perfectly true. At the same time, we have good information that there existed a demand for German teaching even before this period.

Sydney Willard says, speaking of a period preceding by a few years the time when Ticknor learned German :¹ "A German Jew by name of Horwitz came to Cambridge and remained a year or more. He found some encouragement as a teacher of German. I studied German with his aid. He was somewhat arrogant in his pretensions, but could justly lay claim to considerable learning in the language of his religion and of the country from which he emigrated."

Professor Learned has given an account of the introduction of German during the last century, as a medium of instruction, into the curriculum of the University of Pennsylvania.² As these courses were intended principally for the Germans of Pennsylvania we merely refer to them here, as they lie outside

¹ Sydney Willard, *Memories of Youth and Manhood*, 1855, Vol. II, p. 145.

² *Addresses at the Opening of the Bechstein Library*, March 21, 1896, pp. 37-50.

the scope of our article. Apart from this there seems to have been no regularly appointed instructor of German in any American college until Follen was appointed teacher of the German language at Harvard in 1826. At Amherst College an attempt was made in 1826 to introduce courses in the modern languages, parallel to the courses in the classical languages.¹ German was taken into consideration as one of the languages of this course. The experiment proved a failure and in 1829 the parallel courses in modern languages were abolished. It also seems probable that Blaettermann, who was appointed professor of modern languages at the University of Virginia in 1825, gave instruction in German.

Considering the great similarity which exists between the Unitarian movement in America and German rationalism it is astonishing to notice that the latter seems to have had but slight influence on the former during the end of the latter and beginning of our century. It seems strange to us that Channing did not apparently know "that a great number of Lutherans thought with him," of which fact Follen apprised him;² nor can the claims of German philosophy for his attention have been very urgent, if it needed an article in the *Edinburgh Review* on German philosophy to arouse his desire to study German (1829).³ The Rev. Convers Francis is mentioned among the earliest students of German, and German theology, in this country.⁴ He became the teacher of Theodore Parker. While we are compelled to make these reservations, it is nevertheless true that German theology was best known in New England, especially Boston, about which fact one can easily inform oneself by comparing the early Boston periodicals of a serious character with those from other parts of the country. We have already referred to the popularity which Zollikofer's sermons enjoyed. With the

¹ W. S. Tyler, *History of Amherst College*, 1873, pp. 170-172.

² *The Works of Charles Follen*, Boston, 1842, Vol. I, p. 167.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 243.

⁴ William Newell, *Memoirs of the Rev. Convers Francis*. (*Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*, 1864-65, p. 242.)

divines of other sects the feeling that German was a most useful and desirable acquirement seems to have made itself felt still less. The Rev. S. H. Turner, a member of the Episcopal Church, who is mentioned among the earliest translators of theological works from the German, did not begin to acquire that language till about 1825.¹

The amount of attention that German philosophy received in America during the first quarter of our century is perhaps most aptly stated in the words of James Marsh, president of, and later professor in, the University of Vermont and apparently one of the earliest students in America of German philosophy. He studied German in 1821, and in the course of his studies "began to consult Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* then a perfect terra incognita to American scholars."²

In a letter addressed to S. T. Coleridge during the year 1829³ he states that the works of Locke were formerly much used in colleges, but that now the Scotch philosophers had taken his place. "The German philosophers, Kant and his followers, are very little known in this country; and our young men who have visited Germany, have paid little attention to that department of study while there." He then acknowledges that he owes to Coleridge the understanding of what little Kant he has read. "The same views are generally entertained in this country as in Great Britain, respecting German literature; and Stewart's *History of Philosophy* especially has had an extensive influence to deter students from the study of their philosophy. Whether any change in this respect is to take place remains to be seen."

The period between 1802 and 1825 is a transition period when viewed with respect to German literature. Works that have already become established in public favor like those of Gessner, Kotzebue, Zimmermann, Goethe (*Werter*), and others are

¹ *The Autobiography of the Rev. S. H. Turner*, New York, 1864, p. 124.

² *The Remains of the Rev. James Marsh*, Boston, 1843, p. 44.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 137.

reprinted, but there are few accessions by new authors. The attitude of the general public also remains the same toward German literature.¹ The advent (about 1818) of a new class of romantic fiction has already been mentioned. If our presentation of the new movement toward a better understanding of German literature may seem meagre we must point again to the fact that this subject lies beyond the task set for this article, and we could only enter upon this subject, and confine ourselves within our self-imposed limits, by following the youthful studies and interests of men like Ticknor, Everett and Bancroft. Certainly a most sympathetic theme, but one that had best be left for treatment in another connection.

¹ An article of this type is to be found in *The Portico; a Repository of Science and Literature*, Baltimore, 1817, Vol. II, pp. 17-25, in which the reviewer comes to the usual conclusion that Gessner and Kotzebue are the most satisfactory German writers.

APPENDIX.

A LIST OF THE TRANSLATIONS OF GERMAN LITERATURE THAT WERE PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES BEFORE 1826.

Abbreviations: adv. = advertisement; a. pref., etc. = author's preface; cont. = contents; ed. = edition; e. pref., etc. = editor's preface; introd. = introduction; pl. = plate; pref. = preface; t. pref., etc. = translator's preface, etc.

[NOTE.—An attempt has been made to obtain a fairly complete list of translations from German literature, of works suggested by German literature, and of important collections containing translations from German literature, as far as such were printed in the United States before 1826. Absolute completeness is impossible and indeed not requisite for the purposes of our investigation. From the fact that both collector and bibliographer take little interest in the reprints of the end of the last, and beginning of our century, the student is compelled to go over the ground himself, not the least laborious part of this study. Fully two-thirds of the books mentioned have been personally examined, of the remaining third many titles were furnished by the courtesy of librarians, or taken from equally reliable sources (*e. g.* the Catalogue of the Brinley Collection). In some cases, where titles could not be verified, sources are stated. C. R. Hildeburn, *A Century of Printing*, Philadelphia, 1885-86, and Isaiah Thomas' list of ante-revolutionary prints in his "History of Printing in America" (*American Antiquarian Society Transactions*, Vols. V-VI), are thus quoted.

Want of space prohibits us from acknowledging here the many favors received through the uniform courtesy of librarians. Special thanks are due Mr. A. R. Spofford and Mr. A. P. C. Griffin, of the Congressional Library, and Mr. W. Eames, of the Lenox Library, for their kind and ever ready advice, and to Mr. E. M. Barton, of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass., Mr. J. Schwartz, of the New York Apprentices' Library, and my friend, Professor G. S. Collins, of the Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute, for interesting information.

In the course of collecting these titles the desirability of furnishing the fullest information in regard to the character of prefaces, the numbering of pages, etc., impressed itself more and more. Considering the many sources from which this list has been compiled a uniform practice was not possible in these matters.

It is hardly necessary to emphasize the fact that a detailed examination of these prints was seldom possible, the three requisites of American reprint, English original translation, and German original being only rarely found at the same library, quite apart from the fact that limitations of time are an important factor in the case of material scattered along the whole length of our country. It would be a grave omission not to mention the help derived from the catalogue of the British Museum in many of the questions arising in this connection.]

1762.

1. [Gessner, S.] *The Death of Abel*. In five books. By Solomon Gessner. Philadelphia: William Bradford. 1762.

(Hildeburn.)

Probably reprint of: *The Death of Abel*, in five books, attempted from the German of Mr. Gessner by Mary Collyer. London. 1761. [Der Tod Abels. 1758.]

2. [Gessner, S.] *The Death of Abel*, in five books. Boston. Reprinted. 1762. 12°.

(Thomas.)

Probably Mary Collyer's translation. London. 1761. Cf. 1.

1765.

3. [Gessner, S.] *The Death of Abel* in five books attempted from the German of Mr. Gessner The sixth edition London printed: New York reprinted by H. Gaine at the Bible and Crown, in Hanover Square 1765.

Mary Collyer's translation. London. 1761. Cf. 1.

1767.

4. [Gessner, S.] *The Death of Abel*, in five books, attempted from the German of Gessner. 7th edition. New York. 1767. 12°.

(Thomas.)

Evidently Mary Collyer's translation. London. 1761. Cf. 1. Reprint of the 7th English edition (1765)?

1770.

5. [Gessner, S.] *The Death of Abel*. In five books. Attempted from the German of Mr. Gessner. London, printed; Philadelphia, reprinted and sold by Joseph Crukshank, and Isaac Collins, in Third-street, opposite the Work-house, 1770. 12°. pp. iii-iv "To the Queen", v-viii a. pref., ix-x t. pref., 11-106.

Mary Collyer's translation. London. 1761. Cf. 1.

1770?

6. [Gessner, S.] *The Death of Abel*. In five books. Attempted from the German of Mr. Gessner. London, printed; Philadelphia, reprinted and sold by John Dunlap, at the Newest Printing-office, the south side of the Jersey-market, and three doors below Second-street. 12°. pp. iii-iv "To the Queen", v-viii a. pref., ix-x t. pref., 11-106.

Mary Collyer's translation. London. 1761. Cf. 1. The copy of the Pa. Historical Society bears on the binding the date 1770. That this is approximately correct is proved by the fact that the designation "the south side of the Jersey-market" occurs only from 1768-1770 in books printed by Dunlap. (Cf. Hildeburn.)

1778.

7. [Zimmermann, J. G.] *Strictures on National Pride*. Translated from the German of Mr. Zimmermann. Physician in Ordinary to His Britannic Majesty at Hanover. . . . Philadelphia, printed and sold by R. Bell, at the Circulating Library, next door to St. Paul's Church, in Third street. 1778. 8°. pp. iii-iv t. pref., v-viii [for vi] cont., 9-274, [pp. 5] index.

Reprint of: *An Essay on National Pride*, translated, &c. London. 1771. [Von dem Nationalstolze. 1758.]

1784.

8. [Goethe, J. W. von] *Sorrows and Sympathetic Attachments of Werther: a German story, in a series of letters*. By Mr. Goethe, Doctor of the Civil Law. In two volumes. Philadelphia: Robert Bell. 1784. (Hildeburn)

Possibly a reprint of: *The Sorrows of Werter; a German story founded on fact*. 2 vols. London. 1779. [Die Leiden des jungen Werthers. 1774.]

1788.

9. [Klopstock, F. G.] *The Messiah*, attempted from the German of Mr. Klopstock, by Joseph Collyer. In fifteen books. Eliza-

beth Town: printed and sold by Shepard Kollock, 1788. 16°. pp. ii-v t. pref., vii-xvi "On Divine Poetry", 383. (15 books.)

Reprint of: The Messiah, &c. 2 vols. London. 1763. Vol. 3 (book 11-15) was added later [1772?]. [Der Messias. 1751-1773.]

1789.

10. [Goethe, J. W. von] The Sorrows of Werter. A German story. Taedet coeli convexa tueri. To each his sufferings. Gray. (Ode to Adversity.). Vol. I. Litchfield, (Connecticut) Printed by Thomas Collier. 1789. 12°. Vol. I. pp. ii t. pref., 94. Vol. II. pp. 1-92 + [copy examined defective; letter 38-77 +].

Apparently Reprint of: The Sorrows of Werter, &c. London. 1779. Cf. 8. The beginning lines as in 39.

11. [Lessing, G. E.] Lucy Sampson, or the Unhappy Heyress, translated by a citizen of Philadelphia. Philadelphia. Charles Cist. 1789.

Translation (by David Rittenhouse, Philadelphia) of: Miss Sara Sampson, ein bürgerliches Trauerspiel. 1755. The title of the work is taken from Goedeke, Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung², Vol. iv, p. 142 (§221, 47), and W. Barton, Memoirs of David Rittenhouse, Philadelphia, 1813, p. 495. Goedeke gives the date 1790.

1790.

12. [Campe, J. H.] The New Robinson Crusoe: an instructive and entertaining history for the use of children of both sexes. Translated from the French. Printed at Boston, by Thomas and Andrews, at Faust's Statue. Sold at their bookstore. . . 1790. 8°. pp. viii e. pref., 270.

Apparently reprint of: The New Robinson Crusoe, &c. 4 vols. London. 1788. [Robinson der jüngere. 1779. 1780.]

13. [Gessner, S., suggested by G.'s Death of Abel] The Death of Cain &c. Cf. 17.

14. [Lavater, J. K.] Aphorisms on Man. Translated from the original manuscript of the Rev. John Casper Lavater, citizen of Zurich. Author of the Essays in Phy gnomy. . . . Philadelphia: printed by William Spotswood. 1790. 16°. pp. v-vi "To Henry Fuseli", vii-viii e. adv., pp. 100. (633 aphorisms.)

Reprint of: Aphorisms on Man, &c. [Translated by J. H. Fuseli.] London. 1788.

15. [Lavater, J. K.] Aphorisms on Man. Translated from the original manuscript of the Rev. John Caspar Lavater, citizen of Zurich. . . . Third edition. London: printed. New York: reprinted by T. and J. Swords, for Berry and Rogers, Hanover Square. 1790. 16° [p. 3] "To Henry Fuseli", [p. 4] e. adv., pp. 5-114. (633 aphorisms).

J. H. Fuseli's translation. London. 1788. Cf. 14.

16. [Lavater, J. K.] Aphorisms on Man. Translated from the original manuscript of the Rev. John Caspar Lavater, citizen of Zurich. . . . Fourth edition. Printed at Boston, by I. Thomas and E. T. Andrews. At Faust's Statue, No. 45, Newbury Street. Sold by them at their bookstore, by D. West, in Marlborough Street, by E. Larkin, jun. in Cornhill, and by I. Thomas, in Worcester. 1790. 16°. [p. 3] "To Henry Fuseli", [p. 4] e. adv., pp. 5-112. (633 aphorisms.)

J. H. Fuseli's translation. London. 1788. Cf. 14.

1791.

17. [Gessner, S.] The Death of Abel. In five books. Attempted from the German of Mr. Gessner. By Mary Collyer. To which is added. The Death of Cain. In five books. Philadelphia: printed by William Spotswood. 1791. 16°. pp. iii-vi a. pref., pp. vii-viii t. pref., 172.

The Death of Cain, in five books; after the manner of the Death of Abel. By a Lady. . . . Philadelphia: printed and sold by William Spotswood, 1790. 16°. pp. iii-iv pref., pp. 103.

Mary Collyer's translation of: The Death of Abel. London. 1761 (Cf. 1); and reprint of: The Death of Cain, &c. London. [1790?]

18. [Gessner, S., suggested by the G.'s Death of Abel.] The Death of Cain, in five books; after the manner of the Death of Abel. By a Lady. . . . Philadelphia: printed and sold by William Spotswood, 1791. 16°. [p. ii] a. adv., pp. iii-iv a. pref., pp. 68.

Reprint of: the Death of Cain, &c. London. [1790?]. Cf. 17. This print occurs bound with: the Death of Abel. Philadelphia. 1791 (Cf. 17) and may possibly be an abridged copy of print 13.

About 1791.

19. [Gessner, S.] The Death of Abel. In five books. Attempted from the German of Mr. Gessner. Newport (Rhode Island). Printed by Peter Edes. 16°. pp. x a. pref., 154.

Mary Collyer's translation. 1761. Cf. 1. Peter Edes printed at Newport from about 1787-1796, in which year he left. I have fixed approximate date of print on the basis of this information.

1793.

20. [Gessner, S., suggested by G.'s Death of Abel.] The Death of Cain; in five books; by a Lady. Newburyport, 1793. 16°.

Reprint of: The Death of Cain, &c. London. [1790?] Cf. 17.

21. [Lavater, J. K.] Aphorisms on Man. Translated from the original manuscript of the Rev. John Caspar Lavater, citizen of Zurich. 5th edition. Printed at Newburyport, by George Jerry Osborne, Gутtenberg'shead. 1793. 16°. pp. iv, 110.

Evidently J. H. Fuseli's translation. London. 1788. Cf. 14.

22. [Schiller, F. von.] The Robbers. A tragedy. Translated from the German of Frederick Schiller. New-York: printed by Samuel Campbell. No 37, Hanover Square. 1793. 8°. pp. vii introd., 11-120.

Reprint of: The Robbers, translated from the German of F. Schiller [by A. F. Tytler, Lord Woodhouselee]. London. 1792.

23. [Zimmermann, J. G.] Solitude considered with respect to its Influence upon the Mind and the Heart. Written originally in German by M. Zimmermann. Aulic Counsellor and Physician to His Britannic Majesty at Hanover. Translated from the French of J. B. Mercier. . . . Philadelphia: printed for J. Cruikshank, W. Young, T. Dobson, M. Carey, H. & P. Rice, B. Johnson, and P. Hall. 1793. 12°. [p. i] Cont., pp. 328.

Reprint of: Solitude considered with respect to its Influence on the Mind and Heart. Written originally in German by Mr. Zimmermann. Translated from the French of J. B. Mercier. London. 1791. [Über die Einsamkeit. 1784-85.]

1794?

24. [Gessner, S.] The Death of Abel. In five books. Attempted from the German of Mr. Gessner. By Mary Collyer. New-York. Printed and sold by S. Campbell, No. 37, Hanover Square. 1764. 16°.

Mary Collyer's translation. London. 1761. Cf. 1. The date 1764 is found in the print (cf. also facsimile in C. R. Hildeburn, *Sketches of Printers and Printing in Colonial New York*. 1895. p. 70). Hildeburn was unable to ascertain anything concerning the printer, or that he printed anything else. 1764 seems to be a printer's error, perhaps for 1794. In 1793 Samuel Campbell printed at the same address Schiller's Robbers. Cf. 22.

1795.

25. The Surprising Life and Death of Dr. John Faustus, D. D. commonly called the History of the the [sic] Devil and Dr. Faustus. To which is now added the Necromancer, or, Harlequin Dr. Faustus; as performed at the Theatres. Truly translated from the original copies. Printed at Worcester. 1795. 24°. pp. 5-144 [misprint for 143].

Reprint of an English print. The Brit. Mus. has English editions of a similar title. [Historia von Dr. Johann Fausten. Frankfurt a. M. 1587.]

26. [Dr. Faustus, suggested by the story of Dr. Faustus.] The Necromancer or Harlequin Dr. Faustus. Cf. 25.

27. [Goethe, J. W. von] The Sorrows of Werter, an affecting story. Translated from the original German. Forever Fortune wilt thou prove, An unrelenting Foe to Love; And when we meet, a mutual Heart, Come in between and bid us part? Bid us sigh on, from Day to Day, And wish, and wish the Soul away, Till youth and passion both are flown, And all the Life of Life is gone. New York: printed by Wayland & Davis, Water-street, for L. Wayland. 1795. 18°. pp. 142.

Probably reprint of one of the English translations. Letter 1. You ask me how I fell in love? What a question! Why I've seen such a woman! So much sweetness, such affable behaviour; &c. . . . Emilia Galotti was lying open upon his bureau. I will say nothing of Albert's great distress, nor of the situation of Charlotte. Finis.

28. [Klopstock, F. G.] The Messiah, attempted from the German of Mr. Klopstock, by Joseph Collyer. In fifteen books. New-York. G. Forman, No. 156, Front Street, for Evert Duyckinck & Co. booksellers and stationers, No 110, Pearl Street. 1795. 12°. pp. iii-iv t. pref., vii-xvi "On Divine Poetry," 17-403.

J. Collyer's translation. London. 1763, [1772?]. Cf. 9.

29. [Salzmann, C. G.] Elements of Morality, for the Use of Children; with an Introductory Address to Parents. Translated from the German of the Rev. C. G. Salzmann. The first American edition. Printed at Providence (R. Island) by Carter and Wilkinson, and sold at their book and stationary store, opposite the Market. 1795. 12°. pp. iii-v adv., vii-xix "Introductory Address to Parents," pp. 21-306. 1 pl.

Reprint of: Elements of Morality, &c. [Translated by Mary Wollstonecraft.] London. 1790. [Moralisches Elementarbuch. 1782-83.]

1795 or before.

30. [Gessner, S.] *The Death of Abel*. New York. Evert Duyckinck & Co.

Possibly a reprint of Mary Collyer's translation. London. 1761. This ed. is mentioned in an adv. in Duyckinck's ed. of the *Messiah*. Cf. 28.

1796.

31. [Salzmann, C. G.] *Elements of Morality for the Use of Children*; with an Introductory Address to Parents. Translated from the German of the Rev. C. G. Salzmann. Illustrated with twenty copper plates. In two volumes. Vol. II. Philadelphia: printed for J. Hoff & H. Kaemmerer, jun. 1796. 12°. Vol. I.—; Vol. II. pp. 5-259. 20 plates.

Reprint of Mary Wollstonecraft's translation. London. 1790. Cf. 29.

32. [Salzmann, C. G.] *Elements of Morality for the Use of Children*; with an Introductory Address to Parents. Translated from the German of the Rev. C. G. Salzmann. The third American edition. Wilmington: printed by Joseph Johnson. Market Street opposite the Bank. 1796. 12°. pp. iii-iv adv., v-xiv "Introductory Address to Parents," 15-232.

Reprint of Mary Wollstonecraft's translation. London. 1790. Cf. 29.

33. [Schiller, F. von.] *The Ghost-Seer; or, Apparitionist: an interesting fragment, found among the papers of Count O*****. From the German of Schiller. New-York: printed by T. & J. Swords, No. 99 Pearl-street. 1796. 12°. pp. 5-120.

Reprint of: *The Ghost-Seer; or Apparitionist, &c.* [Translated by D. Boileau.] London. 1795. [Der Geisterseher. 1789.]

34. [Zimmermann, J. G.] *Solitude considered with respect to its Influence upon the Mind and the Heart*. Written originally in German by M. Zimmermann, Aulic Counsellor and Physician to His Britannic Majesty at Hanover. Translated from the French of J. B. Mercier. . . . Albany: printed by Barber & Southwick, Faust's Statue, State-street—1796. 8°. pp. viii, 280.

Apparently reprint of: *Solitude considered &c.* London. 1791. Cf. 23.

1797.

35. [Goethe, J. W. von, suggested by G.'s Werther.] *The Letters of Charlotte, during her Connexion with Werther*. . . . Vol. I. New-York: printed by William H. Davis, for E. Duyckinck

& Co. T. Allen, T. & J. Swords, T. Greenleaf, and J. Tiebout. 1797. 12°. Vol. I. pp. v-xii e. pref., 13-117. frontispiece. Vol. II. pp. 121-240.

Reprint of: The Letters of Charlotte, &c. 2 vols. London. 1786.

36. [Wieland, C. M.] Socrates out of his Senses: or Dialogues of Diogenes of Sinope. . . . Translated from the German of Wieland, by Mr. Wintersted. Vol. I. Newburgh: printed by D. Denniston, for self and J. Fellows. 1797. Vol. I. pp. xvi, 119.

Reprint of: Socrates out of his Senses, &c. 2 vols. London. 1771. (Was more than one vol. ever reprinted?) [*Σωκράτης μαινομενος*, oder die Dialogen des Diogenes von Sinope. 1770.]

37. [Zimmermann, J. G.] Solitude considered with respect to its Influence upon the Mind and the Heart. Written originally in German by M. Zimmermann, Aulic Counsellor and Physician to His Britannic Majesty at Hanover. Translated from the French of J. B. Mercier. . . . Wilmington: printed by Johnson & Preston, No. 73 Market-street. 1797. 16°. [p. i] Cont., pp. i-v French t. pref., 298. 2 pl.

Reprint of: Solitude considered &c. London. 1791. Cf. 23.

1797?

38. [Sturm, C. C.] Moral and Natural Philosophy familiarized, in Reflections suitable for every Day in the Year. From the German of C. C. Sturm.

"Preparing for the press" according to advertisement in the American Universal Magazine, Vol. I, No. 1 (Jan. 2d, 1797), in which number also began a serial publication (of the same?) entitled: Natural and Moral Philosophy familiarized in a Series of Reflections from the German of C. C. Sturm. Probably reprint or adaptation of one of the English translations. [*Betrachtungen über die Werke Gottes im Reiche der Natur*. 1785.]

1798.

39. [Goethe, J. W. von.] Werter and Charlotte. The Sorrows of Werter. A German story. To which is annexed, the Letters of Charlotte to a female Friend, during her Connection with Werter. The whole of both works complete in one volume. Boston: for Thomas and Andrews. Sold at their bookstore, No. 45, Newbury-street; by I. Thomas, Worcester; by Thomas Andrews, and Penniman, Albany; and by Thomas Andrews, and Butler, Baltimore. October, 1798. Printing-office, No. 20, Union-street. 12°. pp. 284.

Apparently reprint of: The Sorrows of Werter. London. 1779. Cf. 10; and, apparently, of: The Letters of Charlotte &c. London. 1786. Cf. 35.

Letter I. May 4. I am glad that I went away. Could I leave you, my companion, my friend, that I might be more at ease? The heart of man is inexplicable. . . . If, O heaven, it is not presumption, let my last prayer be heard for Werter: may thy mercy equal Charlotte's pity! Finis.

40. [Goethe, J. W. von, suggested by G.'s Werther.] The Letters of Charlotte. Cf. 39.

1799.

41. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] The Constant Lover; or, William and Jeannette: a tale. From the German of Augustus von Kotzebue, author of the Stranger, Lovers' Vows, Self Immolation, Virgin of the Sun, &c. To which is prefixed, an account of the literary life of the author. Two volumes in one. Boston: printed for Joseph Bumstead. Sold by him at No. 20, Union Street; by Thomas and Andrews, Newbury-Street; by E. Larkin, and Wm. P. and L. Blake, Cornhill. 1799. 12°. [p. iii] a. dedication, pp. v-xiv "My Literary Life," 15-295, [pp. 2] cont.

Apparently a reprint of: The Constant Lover; &c. 2 vols. London. 1799. ["Geprüfte Liebe" in "Die jüngsten Kinder meiner Lanne, 1793-97." Vol. 4, 6.]

42. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von] The Constant Lover; or, William & Jeanette: a tale. From the German of A. von Kotzebue, author of the Stranger, Lovers' Vows, Count Benyowsky &c &c. In two vols. Vol. II. New York: printed for Naphthali Judah; No. 47, Water Street, by M. L. & W. A. Davis. 1799. 12°. Vol. I.—. Vol. II. pp. 180.

Apparently a reprint of: The Constant Lover, &c. London. 1799. Cf. 41.¹

43. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] Self Immolation, or, the Sacrifice of Love. A play — in three acts. By Augustus von Kotzebue. Faithfully translated from the German. By Henry Neuman, Esq. Boston: printed for W. P. and L. Blake, at the Boston Book-store, Cornhill. 1799. 12°. pp. 57.

Reprint of: Self Immolation, &c. London. 1799. [Der Opfertod. 1798.]

¹ Note: In the edition of Kotzebue's Pizarro published by Naphthali Judah, he advertises the following works of Kotzebue as for sale by him: Constant Lovers (No. 42), Lovers' Vows, Count Benyowsky, the Stranger (No. 44?). They all seem to be his own publications.

44. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *The Stranger*: translated from Kotzebue (by A. S—k). New York. 1799.

Reprint of: *The Stranger*: a comedy. Freely translated from Kotzebue's German comedy of *Misanthropy and Repentance* [by A. S****k, i. e. A. Schink]. London. 1798. [*Meuschenhass und Reue*. 1789.]

45. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *Pizarro*; a tragedy; from the German of Kotzebue, &c. Adapted to the English stage. By Sheridan. Philadelphia. 1799. 12°. (Phila. Libr. Co. Catalogue. 1835)

Reprint of: *Pizarro*. A tragedy in five acts, taken from the German drama of Kotzebue, and adapted to the English stage by R. B. Sheridan. London. 1799. [*Die Spanier in Peru, oder Rollas Tod*. 1796.]

46. [Zimmermann, J. G.] *Essay on National Pride*. To which are prefixed: *Memoirs of the Author's Life and Writings*. Translated from the original German of the late celebrated Dr. J. G. Zimmermann, Aulic Counsellor and Physician to His Britannic Majesty at Hanover. By Samuel H. Wilcocke. New-York: printed by M. L. & W. A. Davis, for A. Caritat, bookseller and librarian. 1799. 8°. pp. vii-xl "*Life and Writings of Z.*," 41-300, [pp. 24] index.

Reprint of: *Essay on National Pride*, &c. London. 1797. [*Von dem Nationalstolze*. 1758.]

1800.

47. *The German Theatre*. [Translated and edited by William Dunlap.]

No. I. *The Wildgoose Chase*. Cf. 67.

No. II. *The Virgin of the Sun*. Being the First of *Pizarro* in Peru; or, the Death of Rolla. Cf. 64.

No. III. *Pizarro in Peru*; or, the Death of Rolla. Cf. 59.

Dunlap published under the general title "*The German Theatre*" the three pieces whose titles are given in full under the separate publications.

48. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *Adelaide of Wulfingen*. A tragedy in four acts. (Exemplifying the barbarity which prevailed during the thirteenth century.) From the German of Kotzebue. New-York; printed for Charles Smith and S. Stephens. 1800. 8°. pp. 3-67.

Reprint of: *Adelaide of Wulfingen*, &c. Translated by Benjamin Thompson. London. 1798. [*Adelheid von Wulfingen*. 1788.]

49. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] Count Benyowsky; or, the Conspiracy of Kamtschatka. A tragi-comedy, in five acts, by Baron Kozebue [sic], author of 'The Stranger', performed at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane. Translated from the German, by the Rev. W. Render, Teacher of the German language in the University of Cambridge. First American from the second London edition. Boston: printed by Manning & Loring. 1800. [p. 4] adv., pp. 5-98.

Reprint of: Count Benyowsky, &c. London. 1798. 2d ed. 1798. [Graf Benyowsky. 1795.]

50. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] The Count of Burgundy: a comedy of Kotzebue. In four acts. Translated from the German, by Charles Smith. New York: printed for Charles Smith and S. Stephens. 1800. [M. M'Farlane, printer, 29 Gold-Street.]

A translation (by Charles Smith, New York) of: Der Graf von Burgund. 1798.

51. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] The Dramatic Works of Baron Kotzebue. Translated from the German, by Charles Smith. Vol. I. Containing. Count of Burgundy, Wild Youth, Indigence, and Nobleness of Mind, La Peyrouse, The Virgin of the Sun, Adelaide of Wulffingen. New-York: printed for Charles Smith, No. 52 Maiden Lane, and Stephen Stephens, No. 165 Pearl Street. 1800. 8°.

Vol. II. Containing. Self Immolation, Happy Family, Force of Calumny, Widow and the Riding Horse, Pizarro, East-Indian. 8°.

Vol. III. Containing. Fraternal Discord, Writing Desk, Abbe de l'Epee, False Shame, East Indian, Speed the Plough. 8°.

This is a collection of the translations from Kotzebue published also singly by Charles Smith (Cf. *passim* sub 1800 and 1801). Only "Count of Burgundy," "Wild Youth," and "La Peyrouse" seem to be translations by Smith. Each vol. of the collection is provided with a general title. As the title-page of vol. 1 was wanting in the copy examined, the style of the same was taken from vol. 2. "East Indian," and "Speed the Plough" in vol. 3. are not by Kotzebue.

52. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] The East Indian: a comedy, in three acts. Translated from the German of Kotzebue. New-York: printed for Charles Smith and S. Stephens. 1800. 8°. pp. 88.

Possibly a reprint of: The East Indian, &c. Translated . . . by A. Thomson. London. 1799. (Appeared first as "The Indians in England" in the German Miscellany, Perth, 1796:) [Die Indianer in England. 1790.]

53. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *False Shame: or the American Orphan in Germany: a comedy.* From the German of Augustus von Kotzebue. Charleston, W. P. Young. 1800. 12°. pp. 76.

Possibly a reprint of: *False Shame, a comedy* &c. London. 1799. [Falsche Scham. 1798.]

54. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *The Force of Calumny: a play, in five acts.* Translated from the German of Kotzebue. New-York: printed for C. Smith and S. Stephens, by John Furman. 1800. 8°. pp. 3-124.

Reprint of: *The Force of Calumny, &c.* Translated by Anne Plumptre. London. 1799. [Die Verläumder. 1796.]

55. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *The Happy Family; a drama, in five acts.* Translated from the German of Kotzebue. New-York: printed for C. Smith and S. Stephens. 1800. 8°. pp. 3-84.

Reprint of: *The Happy Family.* Translated by Benjamin Thompson. London. 1799. [Die Silberne Hochzeit. 1799.]

56. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *Ildegerte, Queen of Norway.* In two volumes. From the German of Augustus von Kotzebue, author of the *Stranger*. By Benjamin Thompson, jun. translator of the *Stranger*, as performed at the Theatre Royal, Drury-Lane. Vol. I. Philadelphia: printed for Robert Campbell, No. 30, Chestnut-street. 1800. 16°. Vol. I. pp. 5-103 (99-103 notes). Vol. II. pp. 2-91 (p. 91 notes).

Reprint of: *Ildegerte, Queen of Norway, &c.* London. 1798. [Ildegerte, Königin von Norwegen. 1788.]

57. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *Indigence, and Nobleness of Mind.* A comedy in five acts, from the German of Kotzebue. New York: printed for Charles Smith and S. Stephens. 1800. 8°. pp. 64.

Apparently a reprint of: *Sighs; or, the Daughter, a comedy, in five acts.* Taken from the German drama of Kotzebue, with alterations, by Prince Hoare. London. 1799. [Armut und Edelsinn. 1795.]

58. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *La Peyrouse: a comedy, in two acts.* Translated from the German of Kotzebue, by Charles Smith. New-York: printed for Charles Smith and S. Stephens. 1800. 8°. pp. iii-iv. t. pref., 40.

A translation (by Charles Smith, New York) of: *La Peyrouse, Schauspiel in 2 Akten.* Leipzig. 1798.

59. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] Pizarro in Peru; or, the Death of Rolla. A play, in five acts. From the German of Augustus von Kotzebue. With notes marking the variations from the original. New-York. Printed by G. F. Hopkins, for William Dunlap. And sold at the office of the printer, No. 136 Pearl-street; T. and J. Swords, No. 99 Pearl-street; Gaine and Ten-Eyck, No. 148 Pearl-street; John Black, No. 5 Cedar-street; Alex. Somerville, No. 114 Maiden-lane; and most other booksellers in the U. States. 1800. 8°. pp. iii-iv a. pref., 9-92 (81-92 notes). frontispiece [Mrs. Mel-mouth]. [No. 3 of a series entitled 'German Theatre.' Cf 47.]

A translation (by William Dunlap, New York) of: Die Spanier in Peru, oder Rollas Tod. Leipzig. 1796.

60. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] Pizarro; or the Spaniards in Peru. A tragedy in five acts. Translated from the German of Kotzebue. New-York: printed for Charles Smith, and Stephen Stephens. 1800. 8°. pp. 62.

Sheridans adaptation. London. 1799. Cf. 45. Act 5 of the reprint, however, contains a fuller version following the German original.

61. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] Self Immolation: or, the Sacrifice of Love. A play in three acts. Translated from the German of Kotzebue. New-York; printed for Charles Smith and S. Stephens. 1800. 8°. pp. 4-54.

Possibly a reprint of: Self Immolation, &c. Faithfully translated . . . by Henry Neuman. London. 1799. Cf. 43.

62. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] Sighs; or, the Daughter; a comedy, in five acts; as it is performed at the Theatre Royal, Haymarket. Taken from the German drama of Kotzebue; with alterations. By Prince Hoare. . . . Charlestown: Printed by Samuel Etheridge, for E. Larkin, No. 47, Cornhill, Boston. 1800. 12°. pp. iii-iv prologue, 7-71.

Reprint of: Sighs; &c. London. 1799. Cf. 57.

63. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] The Sufferings of the Family of Ortenberg. A novel. Translated from the German of Augustus von Kotzebue, by P. Will, Minister of the Reformed Congregation in the Savoy. Two volumes in one. Philadelphia: printed by John Bioren, for Henry and Patrick Rice, No 16, South 2d St. and James Rice, & Co. Baltimore. 1800. 16°. Vol. I. pp. 154. Vol. II. pp. 160.

Reprint of: The Sufferings &c. London. 1799. [Die Leiden der Ortenbergischen Familie. 1787, 1788.]

64. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *The Virgin of the Sun*: a play, in five acts. From the German of Augustus von Kotzebue. With notes marking the variations from the original. New-York: printed by G. F. Hopkins, for William Dunlap. And sold at the office of the printer, No. 84 Maiden-lane; T. and J. Swords, No. 99 Pearl-street; Gaine and Ten-Eyck, No. 148 Pearl-street; John Black, No. 5 Cedar-street; Alex Somerville, No. 114 Maiden-lane; and most other booksellers in the U. States. 1800. 8°. pp. iii-iv a. dedication, 7-80. (75-80 notes). 1 frontispiece. [Mrs. Hodgkinson.] [No. 2 of a collection entitled "*German Theatre*." Cf. 47.]

A translation (by William Dunlap, New York) of: *Die Sonnenjungfrau*. Leipzig. 1791.

65. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *The Virgin of the Sun*, a play in five acts. Translated from the German of Kotzebue. New-York; printed for Charles Smith and S. Stephens. 1800. 8°. pp. III-V a. dedication, 7-96.

Possibly a reprint of: *The Virgin of the Sun*. Translated . . . by James Lawrence. London. 1799.

66. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *The Widow, and the Riding Horse*. A dramatic trifle, in one act. Translated from the German of Kotzebue. New-York: printed for Charles Smith and S. Stephens. 1800. 8°. [p. I] adv., pp. 26.

Apparently a reprint of: *The Widow and the Riding Horse*. &c. Translated . . . by Anne Plumptre. London. 1799. [*Die Wittve und das Reitpferd*. 1796.]

67. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *The Wild-goose Chase*: a play, in four acts. With songs. From the German of Augustus von Kotzebue. With notes marking the variations from the original. New York: printed by J. F. Hopkins, for William Dunlap. And sold at the office of the printer, No. 84 Maiden-lane; T. & J. Swords, No. 99 Pearl-street; Gaine and Ten-Eyck, No. 148 Pearl-street; John Black, No. 5 Cedar-street; Alex. Somerville, No. 114 Maiden-lane; and most other booksellers in the U. States. 1800. [No. 1 of a collection "*The German Theatre*." Cf. 47.] 8° [p. ii] t. adv., pp. iii-x "*Life of Kotzebue by himself*," pp. 9-104. 2 frontispieces [Kotzebue, Hodgkinson.]

A translation (by William Dunlap, New York) of: *Der Wildfang*. Leipzig. 1798.

68. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *The Wild Youth: a comedy for digestion.* In three acts. Translated from the German of Kotzebue, by Charles Smith. New-York: printed for Charles Smith and S. Stephens. 1800. 8°. pp. 74.

A translation (by Charles Smith, New York) of: *Der Wildfang, Lustspiel in 3 Akten.* Leipzig. 1798.

69. [Spiess, C. H.] *The Mountain Cottager; or, Wonder upon Wonder.* A tale. Translated from the German of C. H. Spiess. "Ye visions that before me roll,—that freeze my blood,—that shake my soul,—are ye the phantoms of a dream?"—H. M. Williams. Philadelphia: printed by W. W. Woodward, No. 17 Chesnut Street, for Samuel Hyndman. 1800. 16°. pp. 217 (pp. 219–225, subscribers' names).

Reprint of: *The Mountain Cottager, &c.* [Translated by Annabelle Plumptre?] London (Minerva Press). 1798. [Probably: *Der Mausefallen und Hechelkrämer.* Prag. 1795?]

70. [Sturm, C. C.] *Beauties of Nature delineated: or, Philosophical and Pious Contemplations, on the Works of Nature, and the Seasons of the Year.* Selected from Sturm's *Reflections*, by . . . T. M. Harris. Charlestown. 1800. 8°.

This is an adaptation (by Thaddeus Mason Harris, Dorchester, Mass.) of: *Reflections on the Work of God and of His Providence, throughout all Nature, for every Day in the Year.* Translated first from the German of C. C. Sturm into French; and now from the French into English. By a Lady [Mrs. S. M. Holroyd?]. 3 vols. Edinburgh. 1788. (Rearranged, compressed, and added to, by Thaddeus M. Harris.) [*Betrachtungen über die Werke Gottes im Reiche der Natur.* 1785.]

1800?–1803.

71. [Schiller, F. von.] *The Armenian, or the Ghost Seer.* Philadelphia. 2 vols. 12mo.

Probably a reprint of: *The Armenian; or, the Ghost Seer.* A history founded on fact. Translated from the German of F. Schiller by the Rev. W. Render. 4 vols. London. 1800.

1801.

72. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *Abbe de l'Epee, or, the Orphan; an historical drama, in four acts, translated from the German of Kotzebue.* New-York: printed for Charles Smith, No. 56 Maiden Lane. 1801. 8°. pp. 3–42.

Reprint of: *Deaf and Dumb, or, the Orphan, &c.* Translated . . . by B. Thompson. London. 1801. [*Der Taubstumme oder der Abbé de l'Epee. Aus dem Französischen von Bouilly übersetzt.* 1800.]

73. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *The Constant Lover*; or, William & Jeanette: a tale. From the German of A. von Kotzebue, author of the *Stranger*, *Lovers' Vows*, *Count Benyowsky* &c. &c. In two vols. Vol. I. New-York, printed for and sold by T. B. Jansen and Co. No 248 Pearl Street and C. Jansen, and Co. No 196 Water-Street. 1801. 12°. Vol. I. p. iii dedication, pp. 177, cont. [p. 1]. Vol. II. —.

Reprint of: *The Constant Lover*, &c. 1799. Cf. 41.

74. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *False Shame*; a comedy, in four acts, translated from the German of Kotzebue. Newark—Printed by John Wallis, for Charles Smith, No. 56 Maiden-Lane, New-York. 1801. 8°. pp. 3-63.

Reprint of: *False Shame*, a comedy &c. London. 1799. Cf. 53.

75. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *Fraternal Discord*; a comedy, in five acts. Translated from the German of Kotzebue. New-York: printed for Charles Smith, No. 52 Maiden-Lane. 1801. 8°, pp. 3-74.

Apparently a reprint of: *The Reconciliation*: a comedy in five acts. Translated . . . [by C. Ludger]. London. 1799. [Die Versöhnung. 1798.]

76. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *Sketch of the Life and Literary Career of Augustus von Kotzebue*; with the *Journal of his Tour to Paris*, at the Close of the Year 1790. Written by himself. Translated from the German by Anne Plumptre. New-York. Printed and published by M. Ward & Co. opposite the City-hall. 1801. 12mo. pp. 276.

Reprint of: *Sketch of the Life* &c. London. 1800. [Mein literarischer Lebenslauf, in: *Die jüngsten Kinder meiner Laune*, 1793-1797, Bd. 5; *Meine Flucht nach Paris im Winter 1790*. Leipzig. 1791.]

77. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *The Stranger*, a drama. By A. von Kotzebue. Philadelphia. 1801. (Phila. Library Co. Catalogue. 1836.)

Probably reprint of an English translation of Kotzebues *Menschenhass u. Reue*.

78. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *The Writing Desk*; or *Youth in Danger*. A play, in four acts, from the German of Kotzebue. New-York: printed for Charles Smith, No. 56 Maiden Lane. 1801. 8°. pp. 3-72 [misprinted 27].

Probably a reprint of: *The Writing Desk*, &c. London. 1799. [Das Schreibpult. 1800.]

79. [Lewis, M. G.] *Tales of Wonder*; written and collected by M. G. Lewis, Esq. . . . In two vols. New York: printed by L. Nichols & Co. for Samuel Campbell, bookseller, No 124 Pearl-street. 12°. 1801. Vol. I. pp. 236, Vol. II, pp. 246.

Reprint of: *Tales of Wonder, &c.* 2 vols. London. 1800. This collection contains *Erlking*, *Fisherman* (Goethe), *Frederick and Alice* (Walter Scott, from the German), *The Wild Huntsman* (Bürger, tr. by Scott), *Lenora* (Bürger).

80. [Pestalozzi, J. H. ?] *Leonard and Gertrude*; from the German. Philadelphia. 1801.

Apparently a reprint of: *Leonard and Gertrude*; a popular story; written originally in German, translated into French, and now attempted in English, with the hope of its being useful to the lower orders of society. London. 1801. (Bath, 1800?) [Probably Pestalozzi's "*Lienhard und Gertrud.*" 1781-87.]

81. [Sturm, C. C.] *Beauties of Nature delineated; or, Philosophical and Pious Contemplations on the Works of Nature, and the Seasons of the Year.* Selected from Sturm's *Reflections*, by the Rev. Thaddeus M. Harris. . . . Second edition. Published agreeably to act of Congress. Charlestown: printed and sold by Samuel Etheridge. 1801. 16°. pp. iii-v. pref. [by T. M. H.], p. vi adv. "to this second edition" [by T. M. H.], pp. vii-x cont., 11-237. *culs-de-lampe*.

An adaptation of: *Reflections on the Work of God &c.* Cf. 70.

82. [Wächter, G. P. L. L; pseud. Veit Weber.] *The Black Valley*; a tale, from the German of Viet [sic] Weber, author of the *Sorcerer*. Alexandria: printed by S. Snowden & Co. for J. V. Thomas. 1801. 16°. pp. 3-172.

Probably a reprint of: *The Black Valley*; a tale, from the German of Veit Weber. London. 1796. [From: *Sagen der Vorzeit.* 1787-99.]

1801 ?

83. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *Life*, written by himself. Philadelphia. [1801 ?]

Probably reprint of: *Sketch of the Life and Literary Career &c.* London. 1800. Cf. 76.

1802

84. *Eliza*; or, *the Pattern of Women*. A moral romance. Translated from the German of Maria Regina Roche, authoress of the "*Children of the Abbey, Nocturnal Visit, Maid of the Hamlet,*"

&c . . . Lancaster, printed by Henry Grimler, for Chr. Jac. Hutter. 1802. 12°. pp. 3-178.

There seems to be no work of this name by M. R. Roche.

85. [Gessner, S.] The Death of Abel. In five books, from the German of Gessner, [engraving] with New Idyls. Philadelphia: Printed by Thos. L. Plowman. 1802. [engraved title.] 8°. pp. vii a. pref., ix-xi t. pref., 275. frontispiece [portrait of Gessner]. culs-de-lampe. (The Death of Abel, pp. 1-150.)

[Separate title, p. 151.] New Idyls, by S. Gessner. With a Letter to M. Fuslin, on Landscape Painting; and the Two Friends of Bourbon. By M. Diderot. [p. 153] t. adv. [pp. 155-156] cont., pp 157-275.

Mary Collyer's translation of the Death of Abel. London. 1761 Cf. 1; and reprint of: New Idyls. Translated by William Hooper. 1776. Cf. 86.

86. [Gessner, S.] New Idylls: or Pastoral Poems. By S. Gessner. Author of the Death of Abel. To which is added, a Letter on Landscape Painting, and the Two Friends of Bourbon. Philadelphia: printed for William Duane, and published at the Aurora Book-stores, No 106, Market Street, Philadelphia; and Square 460 Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington City. [John Bioren, printer.] 1802. 12°. pp. 177.

Reprint of: New Idyls, by S. Gessner. With a Letter &c. Translated by W. Hooper. M. D. London. 1776. [Neue Idyllen. 1772.]

87. [Gessner, S.] New Idyls. Cf. 85.

88. Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] Lovers' Vows: or, the Natural Son; a comedy, in five acts. Translated from the German of Augustus von Kotzebue, by Benjamin Thompson, Esq. Baltimore: printed for Thomas, Andrews & Butler. By John W. Butler, corner of Gay & Water Streets. 1802. 8°. pp. 3-66.

Reprint of: Lovers' Vows, &c. In: Benjamin Thompson, The German Theatre. Vol. 2. 1801. [Das Kind der Liebe. 1791].

89. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von] The most Remarkable Year in the Life of Augustus von Kotzebue; containing an Account of his Exile into Siberia and of the other extraordinary Events which happened to him in Russia. Written by himself. Translated from the German by the Rev. Benjamin Beresford, English Lecturer to the Queen of Prussia. New York: printed for H. Caritat, bookseller and

librarian, No. 1 Tontine Building, Broad-way. By G. F. Hopkins. 1802. 16°. pp. vii, 309.

Reprint of: The most Remarkable Year &c. 3 vols. London. 1802. [Das merkwürdigste Jahr meines Lebens. 1801.]

90. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] The Pigeon, a tale. Translated from the German by a Philadelphian. Philadelphia. 1802. 8°

Apparently a translation of: Die Taube. In: "Die jüngsten Kinder meiner Laune. 1793-97. Vol. 3.

91. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] The Stranger, a drama, by Augustus von Kotzebue. 12°. pp. 3-70. [Select Plays, &c. Baltimore. 1802-04. Vol. 1. (1802.) Cf. 95.]

Reprint of: The Stranger: a drama in five acts. Translated from the German by Benjamin Thompson. In Benjamin Thompson: German Theatre. Vol. 1. 1801. [Menschenhass und Reue. 1789.]^a

92. [Schiller, F. von.] Cabal and Love, a tragedy, by Frederick Schiller. 12°. pp. 3-103. [Select Plays, &c. Baltimore. 1802-04. Vol. 2. (1802.) Cf. 915.]

Reprint of: Cabal and Love. A tragedy. Translated from the German of Frederick Schiller. [By J. H. Timaeus?] London. 1795. [Kabale und Liebe. 1784.]

93. [Schiller, F. von.] Fiesco, a tragedy, by Frederick Schiller. 12°. pp. 3-120. [Select Plays, &c. Baltimore. 1802-04. Vol. 2. (1802) Cf. 95.]

Reprint of: Fiesco; or the Genoese Conspiracy: A tragedy. Translated from the German of Frederick Schiller. By J. H. N[oe]hden] and J. S[toddart]. London. 1796. [Die Verschwörung des Fiesco zu Genua. 1783.]

94. [Schiller, F. von.] The Robbers. A tragedy, by Frederick Schiller. 16°. pp. 5-108. [Select Plays, &c. Baltimore. 1802-04. Vol. 2 (1802). Cf. 95.]

Reprint of: The Robbers. A tragedy, in five acts. Translated from the German of Frederick Schiller. By Benjamin Thompson. London. 1800. In: Benjamin Thompson. German Theatre. London. 1801. Vol. 5. [Die Räuber. 1781.]

95. Select Plays, from Celebrated Authors; performed at the principal Theatres in the United States of America. Baltimore

^a) Note. In a list at the end of "John Tobin. The Curfew. Baltimore. Warner & Hanna [date?]" the publishers advertise for sale: Cabal and Love (Cf. 92), Count of Burgundy, Fiesco (Cf. 93), False Shame, Fraternal Discord. These are possibly all their own publications.

printed and sold, by Warner & Hanna. 1802-1804. 6 vols. 16°. Vol. I. (1802,) contains: Kotzebue, A. F. F. von. *The Stranger*. (Cf. 91.) Vol. II (1802) contains: Schiller, F. von. *The Robbers*. (Cf. 94.) *Fiesco*. (Cf. 93.) *Cabal and Love*. (Cf. 92.)

The plays in this collection seem also to have been sold singly.

96. [Zschokke, J. H. D.] *Abaellino, the Great Bandit*. Translated from the German, and adapted to the New-York Theatre. By William Dunlap, Esq. Copyright secured. New-York: published by D. Longworth, at the Shakspeare Gallery, near the Theatre. L. Nichols, Printer. 1802. 16°. pp. 3-82.

A translation and adaptation (by William Dunlap, New York) of: *Abällino, der grosse Bandit. Ein Trauerspiel*. 1795.

1803.

97. [Haller, A. von.] *Letters from Baron Haller to his Daughter, on the Truths of the Christian Religion*. Translated from the German. First American from fourth London edition. Printed for and sold by Increase Cooke & Co. New-Haven. Sold also by the principal booksellers. Sidney's Press, 1803. 16°. pp. iii-xv t. pref., xvii-xxi cont., 23-279. frontispiece.

Apparently reprint of: *The Letters of Baron Haller &c*. London. 1780. [Briefe (eines Vaters an seine Tochter) über die wichtigsten Wahrheiten der Offenbarung. Bern. 1772.]

98. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *The Beautiful Unknown, a dramatic history*. Translated from the German of Augustus von Kotzebue. By Charles Smith. New-York: published by Burnton and Darling, 116, Broad-way. Deare and Andrews, printers. 1803. 16°. pp. 3-50.

A translation (by Charles Smith, New York) of: *Die schöne Unbekannte. Kleine gesammelte Schriften*. Vol. 1. 1787. Some if not all copies are bound with Smith's translation of the same author's *Zaide*. Cf. 100.

99. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *Count Benyowsky; or, the Conspiracy of Kamtschatka: A tragi-comedy, in five acts*. Translated from the German of Augustus von Kotzebue, by the Rev. W. Render, Teacher of the German language in the University of Cambridge. Baltimore: printed for Thomas, Andrews & Butler by John W. Butler, corner Gay & Water Streets. 1803. 8°. pp. 3-76.

Reprint of: *Count Benyowsky, &c*. London. 1798. [Graf Benyowsky. 1795.]

100. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *Zaida*; or, the Dethronement of Muhamed IV. A novel, founded on historic facts. Translated from the German of Augustus von Kotzebue. By Charles Smith. Copyright secured. New York: published by Burnton and Darling, 116, Broad-way. Dean and Andrews, printers. 1803. 16°. [p. 3.] t. pref., pp. 5-213.

A translation (by Charles Smith, New York) of: *Zaide, oder die Entthronung Muhameds IV., historische Novelle.* Leipzig. 1786. Some, possibly all, copies have bound after "*Zaida*" "*The Beautiful Unknown*," of same author and translator. Cf. 98.

101. [Zollikofer, G. J.] *Exercises of Piety* . . . Abridged . . . by T. M. Harris, etc. Worcester, Mass. 1803. 12°

Probably an abridgment of: *Exercises of Piety; for the Use of Enlightened and Virtuous Christians.* Translated from the French edition by J. Manning. London. 1796. [Andachtsübungen und Gebete zum Privatgebrauch für nachdenkende und gut gesinnte Christen. 1785.]

1803 or before ^a

102. [Campe, J. H.] *The New Robinson Crusoe.* Philadelphia. 12°.

Probably reprint of: *The New Robinson Crusoe; &c* London. 1788. Cf. 12.

103. (Gessner, S.) *The Death of Abel and Caine.* Newburyport. 18°.

Possibly Mary Collyer's translation of the *Death of Abel*, London, 1761. Cf. 1. The *Death of Cain* possibly identical with print 20.

104. [Salzmann, C. G.] *Elements of Morality, from the German.* New York. 12°.

Probably a reprint of: *Elements of Morality, &c.* London. 1790. Cf. 29.

105. [Zimmermann, J. G.] *On Solitude, with respect to its Influence upon the Mind and Heart.* New York. 8°.

Apparently reprint of: *Solitude, &c.* London. 1791. Cf. 23.

1803 or before?

106. [Lavater, J. K.] *Essays on Physiognomy; for the Promotion of the Knowledge and the Love of Mankind; written in the German language by J. C. Lavater, abridged from Mr. Holcroft's*

^a) Note. The titles of prints 102-105 were taken from the "Catalogue of all the Books printed in the United States. Published by the Booksellers in Boston. Jan. 1804." (Also republished, in "A. Growoll, Book-Trade Bibliography. New York. 1898.")

translation. [Engraving. "Lavater contemplating a bust."]. Boston, printed for William Spotswood, & David West. 16°. pp. 272. 7 plates [each with 6 heads.]

Possibly identical with: Lavater's Physiognomy, abridged, plates. Boston. 12°. (American Catalogue of 1804, cf. 102, note.) Reprint of an abridgment [1793?] of: Essays on Physiognomy. Translated from the German by Thomas Holcroft. 3 vols. London. 1789-93. [Physiognomische Fragmente. 1775-1778.]

1804.

107. [Zimmermann, J. G.] Solitude considered with respect to its Influence on the Mind and the Heart. Written originally in German, by M. Zimmermann, Aulic Counsellor and Physician to His Britannic Majesty at Hanover. Translated from the French of J. B. Mercier. To which is prefixed the Life of Zimmerman. Boston: printed for Joseph Bumstead, (printer and bookseller). Sold by him at No. 20, Union-street and by booksellers in various parts of the United States. 1804. 16°. pp. xxviii, 307.

Apparently reprint of: Solitude considered &c. London. 1791. Cf. 23.

1805.

108. [Goethe, J. W. von] Herman and Dorothea. A poem, from the German of Goethe, by Thomas Holcroft. Richmond: printed at the Enquirer Press. 1805. 16°. pp. xiv t. pref., 133 (113-133, notes). 1 pl.

Reprint of: Herman and Dorothea. &c. London. 1801. [Hermann und Dorothea. 1798.]

109. [Knigge, A. F. F. L. von.] Practical Philosophy of Social Life; or, the Art of conversing with Men: after the German of Baron Knigge. By P. Will, Minister of the Reformed German Congregation in the Savoy. First American edition. Lansingburgh: published by Penniman & Bliss, and sold by them at the Lansingburgh Bookstore. O. Penniman & Co. Printers Troy, 1805. 8°. pp. III-vii t. pref. [May 18, 1799.], vii-xvi introd., xvii-xxxii cont., 368.

Reprint of: Practical Philosophy &c. London. 1799. [Über den Umgang mit Menschen. 1788.]

110. [Schiller, F. von.] Wallenstein. A drama in two parts. Translated from the German of Frederick Schiller by S. T. Coleridge. New York: published by David Longworth, Dramatic Repository, No. 11. Park. 1805. 16°. [p. 7] t. pref., pp. 9-173. (The Piccolomini.)

Reprint of : The Piccolomini; or the First Part of Wallenstein. A drama in five acts. Translated &c. London. 1800. [Wallenstein, ein dramatisches Gedicht. 1800. Die Piccolomini.] "The Death of Wallenstein" was apparently not reprinted.

1806.

III. [Gessner, S.] The Death of Abel. Translated by Mrs. Collyer. Philadelphia. 1806.

Mary Collyer's translation. London. 1761. Cf. I.

II2. [Gessner, S.] The Death of Abel, in five books, translated from the German of Mr. Gesner by Mrs. Collyer. New York, J. & T. Ronalds. [1806.] [No. 3 of a series "Sacred Classics" in imitation of Cooke's Classics.]

Mary Collyer's translation. London. 1761. Cf. I.

II3. [Zschokke, J. H. D.] Abellino. The Venetian Outlaw. A drama. Translated and adapted to the English stage by R. W. Elliston. New York. 1806.

Reprint of : Abellino, &c. London. 1805. [From the French translation of : Abaellino, der grosse Bandit. Ein Trauerspiel. 1795.]

1806?

II3^b. [Kotzebue, adapted from K.'s Wildfang.] Of Age tomorrow. By Thomas Dibdin. New York. David Longworth. [1806?]

Reprint of : Of Age tomorrow, &c. London. 1806. [Der Wildfang. 1798.]

1806—1816.

II4. [Dunlap, William] The Dramatic Works of William Dunlap. 3 vols. Philadelphia and New York. 1806—1816. 16°.

Do vols 2, 3 contain translations from the German? Vol. 1 does not. Thomas J. McKee in his edition of Dunlap's "Father of American Shandyism" (Publications of the Dunlap Society, Vol. 2, p. xi) says : "Projected publication in 10 volumes, only four appear to have been published."

1807.

II5. The Devil and Dr. Faustus, containing the History of the wicked Life and horrid Death of Dr. John Faustus, etc. Montpelier, Vt. 1807. 12° pp. 12.

Presumably a reprint or adaptation of one of the English chap-books on the subject.

II6. [Gessner, S.] The Death of Abel. In five books, attempted from the German of Mr. Gessner. First Baltimore edition. [cut.]

Baltimore: printed and sold by Warner & Hanna, at the Bible and Heart Printing Office. 1807. 16°. pp. v-vii "To the Queen," viii-xii a. pref., xiii-xiv t. pref., 15-188.

S. Gessner's *New Idylls* [title on p. 189]. pp. 191-252.

Reprint of Mary Collyer's translation, London, 1761, cf. 1; and reprint of: *New Idylls*, &c. London. 1776. Cf. 86.

117. [Gessner, S.] *New Idylls*. Cf. 116.

118. [Goethe, J. W. von.] *The Sorrows of Werter*. From the German of Baron Goëthe. A new translation, revised and compared with all the former editions. By Dr. Pratt. [pl.] New-York: published by Richard Scott, No. 243 Pearl-street. M'Farlane and Long, printers. 1807. 16°. pp. iii-iv t. pref., 100. 1 pl.

Reprint of: *The Sorrows of Werter*, &c. London? [n. d.]

119. [Goethe, J. W. von.] *The Sorrows of Werter*. Translated from the German of Baron Goëthe. By William Render, D. D. You weep,—you love the youth,—revere his name, | And wish from censure to defend his fame: | But hark! "Be man" his spirit seems to say, | "Nor let my weakness tempt thy feet astray!" | To which is annexed, the Letters of Charlotte to a female Friend, during her Connection with Werter. Boston: published by Andrews and Cummings, No. 1, Cornhill. Greenough & Stebbins, printers. 1807. 16°. [pp. 3-4] adv., 5-180 (173-180 appendix).

The Letters of Charlotte, during her Connexion with Werter. pp. clxxxiv-clxxxvi, 187-319.

Reprint of: *The Sorrows of Werter*, &c. London. 1801. [Die Leiden des jungen Werthers. 1774.]; and reprint of: *The Letters of Charlotte* &c. London. 1786. Cf. 35.

120. [Goethe, J. W. von, suggested by G.'s Werther.] *The Letters of Charlotte* &c. Cf. 119.

121. [Zollikofer, G. J.] *Exercises of Piety: or, Meditations on the principal Doctrines and Duties of Religion*. Abridged by Thaddeus M. Harris. Second edition. Worcester. I. Thomas, jun. 1807. 12° pp. 191.

Probably an abridgement of: *Exercises of Piety*. Translated by J. Manning. London. 1796. Cf. 101.

122. [Zollikofer, G. J.] *Sermons on the Dignity of Man, and the Value of the Objects principally relating to Human Happiness*. From the German of the late Rev. George Joachim Zollikofer, Min-

ister of the Reformed Congregation at Leipsick. By the Reverend William Tooke, F. R. S. In two volumes. Volume I. First American edition. Worcester: printed by Thomas & Sturtevant, for Isaiah Thomas, jun. Sold by him in Worcester, by Thomas & Whipple, Newburyport, and by Thomas & Tappan, Portsmouth. 1807. Vol. I. pp. iii-iv cont., vii-ix a. pref., xi-xxii "Some Account of the Author," 424. Vol II. —

Reprint of: Sermons on the Dignity of Man, &c. London. 1802. [Predigten über die Würde des Menschen und den Werth der vornehmsten Dinge die zur menschlichen Glückseligkeit gehören oder dazu gerechnet werden. Leipzig. 1784.]

1808.

123. [Gessner, S.] The Death of Abel. In five books. Translated from the German of Mr. Gessner. By Mrs. Collyer. To which is prefixed, the Life of the Author. Philadelphia: published by B. and T. Kite, No. 20 N. Third-street. 1808. 12°. pp. v-lviii "Life of Author," lix-lxii a. pref., lxx-lxxvi t. pref., 67-204. frontispiece [portrait of Gessner].

Mary Collyer's translation of the Death of Abel. London. 1761. Cf. 1. "An Account of the Life and Writings of Solomon Gessner, taken from the German of M. Hottinguer, by James Agar," pp. v-lviii, is contained also in Cooke's edition of the Death of Abel, London, [1796], from which the American edition may be a reprint.

124. He loves me more than his Life; or Ludwig, Clara and Randolph. A tale from the German. [The Minor Novelist. No. 2. Published and sold by Wright, Goodenow & Stockwell. Boston, and Troy, N. Y. 1808.]

125. [Kotzebue, A. F. F von, adapted from K.'s Wildfang.] Of Age to morrow. By Thomas Dibdin. New York. David Longworth. 1808.

Reprint of: Of Age to morrow. &c. London. 1806. Cf. 113^b.

126. [Sonnleithner, J., adapted from S.'s Leonore.] The Fortress of Sorrento: a petit historical drama, in two acts. . . . New-York: published by D. Longworth, at the Dramatic Repository, Shakspeare—Gallery. 1808. 16°. [p. 2] copy-right, [p. 3] a. statement, pp. 5-28.

"The leading features of the following drama are taken from the French opera of Leonora" (author's statement). An adaptation (with very slight changes) of Sonnleithner's opera text Leonore [i. e. Fidelio, music by Beethoven]. Sonnleithner's text is founded on Jean-Nicolas Bouilly's comic opera "Leonore ou l'Amour Conjugal."

127. [Zimmermann, J. G.] Solitude considered with respect to its Influence upon the Mind and the Heart. Written originally in German by M. Zimmermann, Aulic Councillor and Physician to His Britannic Majesty at Hanover. Translated from the French of J. B. Mercier. New London. Printed by Cady & Eells, for Thomas & Whipple. Newburyport. [1808.]

Apparently reprint of: Solitude &c. London. 1791. Cf. 23.

128. [Zollikofer, G. J.] Caution against the Sins of Unchastity. Earnestly recommended to the attention of the young men of this town and other places; by one who feels a deep interest in their present and eternal welfare. Boston: printed by Greenough and Stebbins, Suffolk Buildings, Congress Street. 1808. 12°. [p. 2] adv. [of American editor], pp. 48.

"Two discourses of one of the most pious and amiable divines that ever lived, the German Zollikofer" (adv.) Possibly from Sermons on the Great Festivals and Fasts of the Church &c. From the German of Rev. G. J. Zollikofer. By the Rev. William Tooke. 2 vols. London. 1807. ["Warnung vor den Sünden der Unkeuschheit" in "Einige Betrachtungen über das Übel in der Welt, und andere Predigten." 1777.] (Are these the "Sermons to Young Men" published at Rev. Joseph Buckminster's expense? Cf. Eliza Buckminster Lee, Memoirs of Dr. Joseph Buckminster. 2d ed. Boston. 1851. p. 489.)

1808?*)

129. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von] The Rights of Hospitality. By Kotzebue. New York. David Longworth. [1808?]

Probably a reprint of: The Wanderer; or, the Rights of Hospitality. Altered by C. Kemble. London. 1808 [Eduard in Schottland. 1804.]

130. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von] The Stranger. By Kotzebue. Translated by Benjamin Thompson. New York. David Longworth. [1808?]

Reprint of: The Stranger &c. London. 1801. Cf. 91.

131. [Schiller, F. von] The Robbers. By Frederick Schiller. New York. David Longworth. [1808?]

Probably a reprint of one of the English translations of Schiller's Robbers. Cf. 22, 94.

*) No. 129-131 are mentioned as "published by David Longworth" in his lists of his publications. The date can be determined from their position in these lists. They may be regarded as distinct from the other prints mentioned in our enumeration.

1809.

132. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *Fraternal Discord*; a drama in five acts. Altered from the German of A. von Kotzebue. By W. Dunlap. New York. D. Longworth. 1809. 16°. pp. 69.

A translation (by William Dunlap, New York) of: *Die Versöhnung*. Schauspiel in 5 Akten. Leipzig. 1798.

133. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *Lovers' Vows*; a play, in five acts. Altered from the translations of Mrs. Inchbald and Benjamin Thompson. By J. H. Payne. Baltimore: printed by Geo. Dobbin and Murphy, No. 10, Baltimore Street. 1809. 16°. pp. iii-vii. adv. (by J. H. Payne), 9-90.

An adaptation from Mrs. Inchbald's version of *Lovers' Vows* (London, 1798.) and B. Thompson's translation (cf. 88). [Das Kind der Liebe. 1798.] "The present copy of *Lovers' Vows* is . . . made up of Thompson's Frederick and Agatha; Mrs. Inchbald's Verdun, Anhalt, and Amelia; while in forming Count Cassel and the Baron, sometimes the former and sometimes the latter version has been adopted. In many instances, however the compiler has taken the liberty to differ from both." (Preface by J. H. Payne).

134. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *Pizarro*; a tragedy in five acts. Taken from the German drama of Kotzebue; and adapted to the English stage. By Richard Brinsley Sheridan. Boston. 1809.

Reprint of: *Pizarro*; &c. London. 1799. Cf. 45.

135. [Lewis, M. G.] *Romantic Tales*, by M. G. Lewis, author of the *Monk*, *Adelgitha* &c. In two volumes. . . . Volume the first, containing *Mistrust*; or, *Blanche and Osbright*. The *Admiral Guarino*. *King Rodrigo's Fall*. *Bertrand and Mary-Belle*. The *Lord of Falkenstein*. *Sir Guy, the Seeker*. The *Anaconda*. The *Dying Bride*. The four *Facardins*, part I. New-York: printed for M. & W. Ward, 149 Pearl-street. 1809.

Volume the second, containing the *Four Facardians*, part II. *Oberon's Henchman*, or the *Legend of the Three Sisters*. *My Uncle's Garret-window*. *Bill Jones*. *Amorassan*, or the *Spirit of the Frozen Ocean*. 12°. Vol. I. pp. 5-11 pref., 347. Vol. II pp. —.

Reprint of: *Romantic Tales*. 4 vols. London. 1808. *Mistrust*, *The Anaconda*, *My Uncle's Garret-window*, *Amorassan*, *Bertrand and Mary-Belle*, *The Lord of Falkenstein* are taken from the German or partly suggested by German works (M. G. Lewis in preface).

136. [Zollikofer, G. J.] *Sermons on Education*. From the German of the Rev. George Joachim Zollikofer. Boston: printed by

Thomas B. Wait & Co. Court-street. 1809. 8°. pp. 123. [The Christian Monitor. Boston. 1806-10. Vol. ix.]

Reprint of: Sermons on Education, from: Sermons on Education, on Reflection, on the Greatness of God in the Works of Nature, and in the Government of the World, on Charity, and various other Topics; from the German of the Rev. George Joachim Zollikofer. By the Rev. William Tooke. 2 Vols. London. 1806. [These sermons also occur with: Prefixed, a Sermon on Parental Example, by G. Warker.]

137. [Zollikofer, J. G.] Seven Sermons on the Reformation, by George J. Zollikofer. Translated from the German by Rev. W. Tooke. With some Account of the Author. From the second London edition. Published by W. Wells, No. 6, Court Street, Boston. Printed by Hilliard & Metcalf, Cambridge. Jan. 1809. 8°. pp. vii-xvi "Some Account of the Author," 93.

[Theological Tracts. No. 1. Containing Zollikofer's Seven Sermons on the Reformation.]

Apparently reprint of seven sermons from: Sermons on the Great Festivals and Fasts of the Church, on other solemn Occasions, and on various Topics. From the German of the Rev. George Joachim Zollikofer. By the Rev. William Tooke. 2 vols. London. 1807. This collection contains eight Sermons on Reformation Anniversaries.

138. [Zschokke, J. H. D.] Abaellino, the Bravo of Venice; a romance: translated from the German by M. G. Lewis. . . . The first American, from the fifth London edition. Baltimore: printed and sold by Warner & Hanna, and John Vance & Co. 1809. 12°. [p. iii] dedication, v-vi adv., vii-viii Cont., 299.

Reprint of: The Bravo of Venice; a romance, translated from the German by M. G. Lewis. London. 1805. (Fifth edition, 1807.) [Abaellino, der grosse Bandit. 1794.]

139. [Zschokke, J. H. D.] Abaellino, the Bravo of Venice; a romance, translated from the German. By M. G. Lewis. Boston; O. C. Greenleaf. [1809.] 18°. pp. 299.

Reprint of: The Bravo of Venice, &c. London. 1805. Cf. 138. The English original (2 ed.), like 138 and 139, has 299 pages.

1810.

140. [Klopstock, F. G., and Margaret K.] Memoirs of Frederick and Margaret Klopstock. Translated from the German. Philadelphia: published by Philip H. Nicklin & Co., Baltimore; Farrand, Mallory and Co. Boston; Jacob Green, Albany; Edward

Earle, and B. B. Hopkins and Co. Philadelphia. Fry and Kammerer, printers. 1810. 12°. [p. iii] adv., pp. v-xii pref., 13-252.

Reprint of: *Memoirs of Frederick and Margaret Klopstock*. Translated from the German [by Miss Elizabeth Smith]. Bath. 1808. Contains letters and writings of Klopstock and his wife, besides a memoir.

141. [Klopstock, F. G.] *The Messiah*, a poem; attempted in English blank verse; from the German of the celebrated Mr. Klopstock. By Solomon Halling, A. M. Rector of Prince George's Parish, Winyaw. . . . Georgetown; printed by Francis M. Baxter. 1810. 8°. pp. 37.

A versification of the first book of Klopstock's *Messiah* made, apparently, from Collyer's prose translation. Cf. 9.

142. [Lafontaine, A. H. J.] *The Village Pastor and his Children*. A novel. Four volumes in two. From the German of Augustus La Fontaine. . . . Vol. I. (From the London edition of 1803.) New-York: published by D. Longworth, at the Dramatic Repository, Shakespeare-gallery. 1810. 12°. Vol. I. pp. 246, [1 p.] cont. Vol. II. pp. 238, [1 p.] cont.

Reprint of: *The Village Pastor &c.* London. 1803. [Possibly: *Aus dem Leben eines armen Landpredigers*. 1800.]

143. [Lessing, G. E.] *Emilia Galotti*: a tragedy, in five acts. Translated from the German of G. E. Lessing, by Miss Fanny Holcroft. Published by Bradford and Inskeep, Philadelphia; Inskeep and Bradford, New-York; Wm. McIlhenry, Boston; Edward J. Coale, Baltimore; and Morfood, Willington and Co. Charleston, South-Carolina. J. Matwell, printer. 1810. 8°. [2 columns per page.] pp. 3-18.

Emilia Galotti, &c. In: *The Theatrical Recorder*. Vol. I. London. 1805. [Emilia Galotti. 1772.]

144. [Vulpius, C. A., dramatized from V.'s *Rinaldo Rinaldini*] *Rinaldo Rinaldini*; or, *the Great Banditti*. A tragedy, in five acts. By an American, and citizen of New York. . . . First edition. New-York, printed for the author. 1810. 12°. pp. iii-v address, pp. 7-82.

A servile adaptation from: *The History of Rinaldo Rinaldini, Captain of Banditti*. Translated from the German of Vulpius. By J. Hinckley, Esq. London. 1800. [Rinaldo Rinaldini. 1797.]

145. [Wieland, C. M.] *Oberon*; a poem. From the German of Wieland. By William Sotheby, Esq. In two volumes. First

American from the third London edition. With a preface, containing biographical notices of the author and translator, and a review of the work. Vol. I. Published by L. Rousmaniere, Newport, R. I; and J. Belcher, Boston. 1810. 12°. Vol. I. [copyright]. p. i dedication of 1st English ed., pp. iii-xlvi pref. of American editor, list of W.'s works. pp. 203. (canto 1-6). Vol. II. pp. 231. (canto 7-12.)

Reprint of: Oberon, &c. London. 1798. [Oberon. 1780.] The Hon. William Hunter of Newport (1774-1849) was the American editor, and author of the preface, according to the Providence Athenæum Catalogue, 1855, p. 433.

146. [Zschokke, J. H. D., dramatized from Z.'s Abaellino.] Rugantino; or, the Bravo of Venice: a grand romantic melo-drama, in two acts. By M. G. Lewis. First performed at Covent Garden Theatre, October 18th, 1809. . . . New-York: published by D. Longworth, at the Dramatic Repository, Shakspeare-Gallery, March —1810. 12°. pp. 3-36.

Reprint of: Rugantino, &c. London. 1805. [A dramatization of: Abaellino, der grosse Bandit. 1794.]

1811.

147. [Campe, J. H.] An Abridgment of the New Robinson Crusoe. Translated from the French. New York. 1811. (Philadelphia Library Catalogue. 1835.)

Evidently an abridgment of: The New Robinson Crusoe, &c. London. 1788. Cf. 12.

148. [Klopstock, F. G.] The Messiah: attempted from the German of Mr. Klopstock. By Joseph Collyer. In fifteen books. Two vols. Boston, published by John West and Co. No 75 Cornhill. 1811. 16°. Vol. I. pp. vi, 299. Vol. II. pp. 272.

Reprint of Joseph Collyer's translation, London, 1763, [1772?] Cf. 9.

149. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] The Beautiful Unknown, &c. Cf. 150.

150. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] Zaida; or, the Dethronement of Muhammed IV. A novel, founded on historic facts. Translated from the German of Augustus von Kotzebue. To which is added, the Beautiful Unknown, a dramatic history, by the same author. By Charles Smith. Copy-right secured. The last London edition. New-York: published by Burnton and Darling, 116 Broadway.

1811. 16°. Zaida, &c. pp. 5-213. *The Beautiful Unknown*, &c. [Separate title, identical with 98.] pp. 50.

Possibly prints 98 and 100 provided with a new general title.

151. [Salzmann, C. G.] *Elements of Morality for the Use of Children*. Translated from the German [by M. Wollstonecraft.] With an Introductory Address to Parents. First Baltimore edition, revised and corrected. Baltimore. 1811. 12°.

Mary Wollstonecraft's translation. London. 1790. † Cf. 29.

1813.

152. [Schiller, F. von.] *The Harper's Daughter: or, Love and Ambition*. A tragedy, in five acts. Translated from the German of Schiller, author of the *Robbers*, *Don Carlos*, &c. By M. G. Lewis, Esq. M. P. Author of the *Monk*. And now published with considerable alterations, as performed at the Philadelphia and Baltimore theatres. Philadelphia: published by M. Carey, No. 121, Chesnut Street. Printed by R. & W. Carr. 1813. 16°. pp. 5-76.

Adapted from: *The Minister*. A tragedy. In five acts. Translated from the German of Schiller. By M. G. Lewis, Esq. M. P. London. 1797. [Kabale und Liebe. 1784.]

153. [Zimmermann, J. G.] *Solitude considered with respect to its Influence on the Mind and the Heart*. Written originally in German, by M. Zimmermann, Aulic Counsellor and Physician to His Britannic Majesty at Hanover. Translated from the French of J. B. Mercier. To which is prefixed the *Life of Zimmermann*. Brooklyn. Printed by Alden Spooner. 1813. 16°. pp. viii, 296.

Apparently reprint of: *Solitude considered &c.* London. 1791. Cf. 23.

154. [Zimmermann, J. G.] *Solitude: written originally by J. G. Zimmermann*. To which is added the *Life of the Author*. New-York: published by David Huntington. C. S. Van Winkle, printer. 1813. [Preceded by a shorter engraved title dated 1814.] 24°. pp. v-viii t. pref., 9-15 *Life of Zimmermann*, 17-402.

Reprint of: *Solitude; or, the Effects of occasional Retirement on the Mind, the Heart, General Society, in Exile, in Old Age, and on the Bed of Death*. London. 1797. [A different English version from those mentioned before.]

1814.

155. [Goethe, J. W. von.] *Goetz of Berlichingen, with the Iron Hand*. Translated from the German of Goethe. By Walter

Scott, Esq. New-York: published by A. H. Inskip. Van Winkle and Wiley, printers. 1814. 24°. pp. 5-13 t. pref., 17-206.

Reprint of: Goetz of Berlichingen &c. London. 1799. [Goetz von Berlichingen mit der eisernen Hand. 1773.]

156. [Iffland, A. W.] *The Good Neighbor*; an interlude; in one act. Altered from a scene of Iffland's by William Dunlap. New York. D. Longworth. 1814. 12°. pp. 12.

A translation from Iffland by William Dunlap of New York. [Possibly: *Die Nachbarschaft*. 1807.]

157. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *The Corsicans*: a drama, in four acts. Translated from the German of Augustus Kotzebue. [From the second London edition, of 1799] New-York: published by David Longworth, at the Dramatic Repository, Shakspeare-Gallery. April — 1814. 16°. pp. 79.

Reprint of: *The Corsicans*, &c. Second edition. London. 1799. [Die Corsen. 1799.]

158. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *Lovers' Vows*; A play, in five acts. From the German of Kotzebue. By William Dunlap. As performed at the New-York Theatre. New-York: published by David Longworth, at the Dramatic Repository, Shakspeare-Gallery. Feb. — 1814. 16°. pp. 5-74.

A translation (by William Dunlap, New York) of: *Das Kind der Liebe*. Leipzig. 1791.

159. [Lafontaine, A. H. J.] *Romulus*; a tale of ancient times. From the German of A. La Fontaine. Baltimore. 1814.

Probably a reprint of: *Romulus* &c. Translated by the Rev. P. Will. London. 1799. [Romulus. 1798.]

160. *Peter the Great*; or, the Russian Mother: a play, in five acts. Altered from the German, by Wm. Dunlap. As performed at the New-York Theatre. New York: published by David Longworth, at the Dramatic Repository. Shakspeare Gallery. March — 1814. 12°. pp. 56.

A translation and alteration from the German by William Dunlap of New York.

1815.

161. [Gessner, S.] *The Death of Abel*. In five books. Attempted from the German of Mr. Gessner. By Mary Collyer. To which is added, the *Death of Cain*. In five books. Brattleborough, (Vt.) Published by John Holbrook. 1815. 24°. pp. 179.

The Death of Cain. In five books; after the manner of the Death of Abel. By a Lady. . . . Brattleborough, Vt. Published by John Holbrook. 1815. 24°. pp. 82.

Mary Collyer's translation of the Death of Abel, London, 1761, (Cf. 1); and reprint of: The Death of Cain, London, [1790?] Cf. 13.

162. [Gessner, S., suggested by G.'s Death of Abel] The Death of Cain. Cf. 161.

163. [Jung-Stilling, J. H.] Scenes in the World of Spirits, of Henry Stilling, Professor of the University at Marburg, (Germany.) Translated from the third original edition. "In my Father's House there are many mansions." New-Market: printed by Ambrose Henkel & Co. [1815.] 16°. [p. ii] copyright, pp. iii-iv t. pref., pp. v-xii a. prefaces, 282. (1 sheet of errata pasted in).

A translation (by Gottlieb Shober, Salem, N. C.) of: Scenen aus dem Geisterreiche. 1797-1801. (Copyright, N. C. District, Jan. 13th, A. D. 1815, by Gottlieb Shober. The t. pref. is signed G. S.)

1818.

164. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] Pizarro, a tragedy, in 5 acts; taken from the German drama of Kotzebue; and adapted to the English stage. By R. B. Sheridan. Boston. West & Richardson. 1818. 16°. pp. 69.

Reprint of: Pizarro, &c. London. 1799. Cf. 60.

165. [Plumptre, Anne and Annabella.] Tales of Wonder, of Humour, and of Sentiment; original and translated. By Anne and Annabella Plumptre. In two volumes. Vol. I. Containing Zelis; the Weather-cock; the Magic Dollar; the Spectre of Presburg. New-York: published by James Eastburn & Co., at the Literary Rooms, corner of Broadway and Pine Streets. A. Paul, printer. 1818.

Vol. II. Containing The Fair of Beaucaire; Tsching-Quang; the Family of Valencia; Fanny; Omar and Zemida; Philosophy and Love.

12°. Vol. I. pp. 3-255. Vol. II. pp. 234.

Reprint of: Tales of Wonder, &c. 3 vols. London. 1818. It seems to contain some tales from the German.

166. [Schlegel, C. W. F.] Lectures on the History of Literature, Ancient and Modern. From the German of Frederick Schlegel. In two volumes. Vol. I. Philadelphia: published by Thomas Dobson and Son, at the Stone House, No. 41, South Second Street.

William Fry, printer. 1818. 8°. Vol. I pp. v-vi cont., [p. vii] t. statement, pp. 346. Vol. II. pp. v-vii cont., 130.

Reprint of: Lectures on the History of Literature, &c. Edinburgh. 1818. [Friedrich Schlegel's *Geschichte der alten und neuen Litteratur*. 2 Teile. 1815.]

1819.

167. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *Pizarro*: a tragedy, in five acts; taken from the German drama of Kotzebue; and adapted to the English stage. By Richard Brinsley Sheridan. New-York: published by Thomas Longworth, at the Dramatic Repository, Shakspeare-Gallery. November, 1819. 16°. pp. 5-68.

Reprint of: *Pizarro*, etc. London. 1799. Cf. 60.

168. [Zimmermann, J. G.] *On Solitude*. New York. 1819. 24°.

1820.

169. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] *The Confession*. In verse. A comedy, in one act. Translated from Kotzebue. Philadelphia. 1820. 12°

A translation of: *Die Beichte*. In: *Almanach für 1806*. Leipzig. 1805.

170. [Zschokke, J. H. D.] *Abaellino, the Great Bandit*. A grand dramatic romance, in five acts. Translated from the German, and adapted to the New-York Theatre, by William Dunlap, Esq. Fourth edition—copyright secured. New-York: published by Thomas Longworth, at the Dramatic Repository, Shakspeare-Gallery, Jan. — 1820. 12°. pp. 66.

William Dunlap's translation of Zschokke's *Abaellino*. Cf. 96.

1821.

171. [Sturm, C. C.] *Reflections on the Works of God*; by C. C. Sturm. Translated from the German by Rev. Dr. Balfour. 2 vols. Philadelphia: printed and published by Hickman & Hazzard, No. 121 Chestnut Street; and Hazzard & Hickman, Petersburg, Va. 1821. Vol. I. pp. iii, 328. Vol. II. pp. 364.

Reprint of: *Reflections on the Works of God*. London. [1800?] [*Be-trachtungen über die Werke Gottes in Reiche der Natur*. 1785.]

172. [Zschokke, J. H. D.] *Sylvester Eve, or the Adventures of a Watchman*.

In: *Tales of the Tripod; or a Delphian Evening*. By Perti-nax Particular. Baltimore; published by Fielding Lucas, jr. J.

Robinson, printer. 1821. 16°. pp. v-xii t. pref., 162. [Sylvester Eve, pp. 13-136.]

A translation (by Tobias Watkins [psend. Pertinax Particular.], Baltimore) of: *Das Abenteuer der Neujahrsnacht*. [First publ. in: *Erheiterungen. Eine Monatsschrift für gebildete Leser*. 1818, 1, 5 ff.] "The first tale entitled "Adventures of a Watchman" is taken from an anonymous German correspondent of the *Leeseifruchte*. It pleased me, and *I did it into English* expressly to amuse the Delphian Club". (t. pref.).

1822.

173. [*La Motte Fouqué*, Baron F. H. C. de.] *Minstrel Love*, from the German, by George Soane. New York. 1822.

Reprint of: *Minstrel Love*, &c. London. 1821. [*Sängerliebe*. 1816.]

1823

174. [*Kotzebue*, A. F. F. von.] *Pizarro*. A tragedy in five acts. Taken from the German drama of Kotzebue, and adapted to the English stage by R. B. Sheridan. Philadelphia: Turner & Son. 1823. 24°. pp. 56 (3).

Sheridan's adaptation. London. 1799. Cf. 60.

175. [*Zollikofer*, G. J.] *Examination of some Principles and Rules of Conduct in Religious Matters*, partly false, and partly misunderstood; in two sermons. [On Matt. xv. 13.] By the Rev. G. J. Zollikofer. Printed for the "Tract and Book Society of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of St. John." Joseph Rakestraw, printer. Philadelphia. 1823. 12°. pp. 56 +. [copy imperfect].

1823-24?

176. *Life of Dr. Faustus . . . his horrible Death*, &c. 12°. frontispiece. [In a collection of New-York chap-books, published by W. Borradaile, 150 Fulton St. (1823-24) and Solo. King, 150 William Street. (1821-1830).] (*Brinley Catalogue*.)

Possibly reprint or adaptation of an English chap-book.

1824.

177. [*Chamisso*, A. von.] *Peter Schlemihl*: from the German of *LaMotte Fouqué*. With plates by George Cruikshank. . . . Boston: Wells and Lilly—Court-street. 1824. 16°. pp. vii-viii introd., [p. ix] notice, [p. xi] a. dedication, pp. 139. 5 pl.

Reprint of: *Peter Schlemihl*, &c. [Translated by Sir J. Bowring.] London. 1824. *LaMotte Fouqué* was only editor, not author, of the work. [*Peter Schlemihls wundersame Geschichte*. Herausgegeben von Fr. Baron de la Motte Fouqué. Nürnberg. 1814.]

178. [Goethe, J. W. von.] *Memoirs of Goëthe*: written by himself. New-York: published by Collins & Hannay, 230 Pearl-street, and Collins & Co. 117 Maiden-Lane. J & J. Harper, printers. 1824. 8°. pp. iii-iv t. pref., v-viii cont., 9-360 (pp. 292-298 post script, 299-360 biographical notices).

Reprint of: *Memoirs of Goethe*, &c. London. 1824. [Aus meinem Leben: Dichtung und Wahrheit. 1811-14.]

179. [La Motte Fouqué, Baron F. H. C. de.] *Undine*, a tale from the German. Boston. 1824.

Possibly reprint of: *Undine*, a romance. Translated from the German by G. Soane. London. 1818. [Undine. 1811.]

180. [La Motte Fouqué, Baron F. H. C. de.] *Undine*. A tale. From the German of Frederick, Baron de Motte Fouqué. Philadelphia: published by E. Littell. 1824.

Possibly reprint of: *Undine* &c. Translated by G. Soane. Cf. 179.

1825 or before.

181. [Schiller, F. von.] *The Robbers*. Baltimore. Joseph Robinson.

Mentioned at back of: *Poems* by Edward C. Pinkney. Baltimore. Joseph Robinson. 1825. Apparently published by Robinson.

TRANSLATIONS FROM THE GERMAN BEARING NO DATE, BUT
APPARENTLY PRINTED BEFORE 1826.

182. [Campe, J. H.] *Columbus, or the Discovery of America*; as related by a father to his children and designed for the instruction of youth. Translated from the German, by Elizabeth Helme. Boston, Munroe & Francis. New York, Charles S. Francis. 24°, pp. 270.

Reprint of: *Columbus*, &c. 2 vols. London. 1799. [Part of: *Die Entdeckung von Amerika*. 1781-82.] The firm Munroe & Francis dates from about 1810.

183. [Campe, J. H.] *Cortez; or, the Conquest of Mexico*. Translated from the German of J. H. Campe by Elizabeth Helme. Boston: Munroe and Francis, and Charles S. Francis, New York. 12°. pp. 255.

Reprint of: *Cortez* &c. 2 vols. London. 1799. [Part of: *Die Entdeckung von Amerika*. 1781-82.]

184. [Campe, J. H.] Pizarro; or, the Conquest of Peru. Translated from the German by Elizabeth Helme. Boston: Munroe and Francis. New York: Charles S. Francis. 24°. pp. 228. pl.

Reprint of: Pizarro, &c. London. 1799. [Part of: Die Entdeckung von Amerika. 1781-82.]

185. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] Pizarro. Adapted by R. B. Sheridan. New York. Naphthali Judah. 16°. [p. 3] dedication, [p. 4] t. adv., [p. 5] prologue, pp. 7-74. [Title page wanting in copy examined.]

Sheridan's adaptation. London. 1799. Cf. 60. The probable date of the reprint is 1799.

186. [Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.] The Stranger, or, Misanthropy and Repentance. A drama. Translated from the German by G. Papendick. Boston. Printed by John Russell at his Office in Quaker Lane. 12°.

Reprint of: The Stranger, &c. London. 1798. [Menschenhass und Reue. 1789.]

187. [Zimmermann, J. G.] Solitude considered with respect to its Influence on the Mind and the Heart. Written originally in German, by M. Zimmerman, Aulic Counsellor and Physician to His Britannic Majesty at Hanover. Translated from the French of J. B. Mercier. First New-York edition. Printed by Mott & Lyon: for Evert Duyckinck & Co., C. Davis, J. Harrisson, J. Fellows, J. Lyon, N. Judah, and P. Mesier. 12°. pp. v, 328.

Apparently a reprint of: Solitude considered &c. London. 1791. Cf. 23. Probably printed about 1793-1800. This edition, which is a 12° by signatures and A. L. A. standard, is evidently distinct from 105, an octavo.

INDEX.

The numbers refer to those in the "List of Translations."

Campe, J. H.

Columbus, 182 (n. d.).

Cortez, 183 (n. d.).

The New Robinson Crusoe, 12 (1790), 102 (1803 or before), 147 (1811) [abridged].

Pizarro, 184 (n. d.).

Chamisso, A. von.

Peter Schlemihl, 177 (1824).

The Devil and Dr. Faustus, 115 (1807).

Dunlap, W.

Dramatic Works, 114 (1806-16).

Eliza, or the Pattern of Women, 84 (1802).

Faustus, The Life of Dr. Faustus, 25 (1795), 176 (1823-1824?).

Cf. also, the Devil and Dr. Faustus.

The Necromancer or Harlequin Dr. Faustus [suggested by Dr. Faustus], 26 (1795).

The German Theatre, translated by W. Dunlap, 47 (1800).

Gessner, S.

The Death of Abel, 1 (1762), 2 (1762), 3 (1765), 4 (1767), 5 (1770), 6 (1770?), 17 (1791), 19 (about 1791), 24 (1794?), 30 (1795 or before), 85 (1802), 103 (1803 or before), 111 (1806), 112 (1806), 116 (1807), 123 (1808), 161 (1815).

The Death of Cain, by a Lady, [suggested by G.'s Death of Abel,] 13 (1790), 18 (1791), 20 (1793), 162 (1815).

New Idylls, 86 (1802), 87 (1802), 117 (1807).

Goethe, J. W. von.

Goetz von Berlichingen, 155 (1814).

Herman and Dorothea, 104 (1805).

Memoirs of Goethe, 178 (1824).

The Sorrows of Werter, 8 (1784), 10 (1789), 27 (1795), 39 (1798), 118 (1807), 119 (1807).

The Letters of Charlotte, [suggested by the Sorrows of Werter,] 35 (1797), 40 (1798), 120 (1807).

Haller, A. von.

Letters from Baron Haller to his Daughter, 97 (1803).

Iffland, A. W.

The Good Neighbor, 156 (1814).

Jung-Stilling, J. H.

Scenes in the World of Spirits, 163 (1815).

Klopstock, F. G.

The Messiah, 9 (1788), 28 (1795), 148 (1811).

The Messiah, attempted in verse, by S. Halling, [taken from K.'s Messiah,] 141 (1810).

Memoirs of F. G. and M. Klopstock, 140 (1810).

Knigge, A. F. F. L.

Practical Philosophy of Social Life, 109 (1805).

Kotzebue, A. F. F. von.

Abbé de l'Epée, or the Orphan, 72 (1801).

Adelaide of Wulfingen, 48 (1800).

Of Age to morrow, 125 (1808).

The Beautiful Unknown, 98 (1803), 149 (1811?).

The Confession, 169 (1820).

The Constant Lover, or, William and Jeanette, 41 (1799), 42 (1799), 73 (1801).

The Corsicans, 157 (1814).

Count Benyowsky, 42 (note), 49 (1800), 99 (1803).

The Count of Burgundy, 50 (1800), 91 (note).

The Dramatic Works of Baron Kotzebue, 51 (1800).

The East Indian, 52 (1800).

False Shame, or the American Orphan in Germany, 53 (1800), 74 (1801), 91 (note).

The Force of Calumny, 54 (1800).

Fraternal Discord, 75 (1801), 91 (note), 132 (1809).

The Happy Family, 55 (1800).

Ildegerte, Queen of Norway, 56 (1800).

Indigence and Nobleness of Mind, 57 (1800).

La Peyrouse, 58 (1800).

The Life of Kotzebue, 83, (1801?)

Lovers' Vows, 42 (note), 88 (1802), 133 (1809), 158 (1814).

The Most Remarkable Year of his Life, 89 (1802).

The Pigeon, 90 (1802).

Pizarro, 45 (1799), 59 (1800), 60 (1800), 134 (1809), 164 (1818), 167 (1819), 174 (1823), 185 (1799?).

The Rights of Hospitality, 129 (1808?).

Self-Immolation, 43 (1799), 61 (1800).

Sighs, or the Daughter, 62 (1800).

Sketches of the Life of Kotzebue, 76 (1801).

The Stranger, 44 (1799), 77 (1801), 91 (1802), 130 (1808?), 186 (n. d).

The Sufferings of the Family of Ortenberg, 63 (1800).

The Virgin of the Sun, 64 (1800), 65 (1800).

The Widow and the Riding Horse, 66 (1800).

The Wild-geese Chace, 67 (1800).

- The Wild Youth, 68 (1800).
The Writing Desk, 78 (1801).
Zaida, or the Dethronement of Muhamed IV, 100 (1803), 150 (1811).
"Lady," A.
The Death of Cain. Cf. Gessner.
Lafontaine, A. H. J.
Romulus, 159 (1814).
The Village Pastor and his Children, 142 (1810).
La Motte Fouqué, Baron F. H. C. de.
Minstrel Love, 173 (1822).
Undine, 179 (1824), 180 (1824).
Lavater, J. K.
Aphorisms on Man, 14 (1790), 15 (1790), 16 (1790), 21 (1793).
Essays on Physiognomy, 106 (1803 or before?).
Lessing, G. E.
Emilia Galotti, 143 (1810).
Lucy Sampson, 11 (1789).
The Letters of Charlotte. Cf. Goethe.
Lewis, M. G.
Romantic Tales, 135 (1809).
Tales of Wonder, 79 (1801).
He loves me better than his Life; or Ludwig, Clara and Randolph, 124 (1808).
The Necromancer, or Harlequin Dr. Faustus. Cf. Faustus.
Pestalozzi, J. H.
Leonard and Gertrude, 80 (1801).
Peter the Great, or the Russian Mother, 160 (1814).
Plumptre, A., and A.
Tales of Wonder, 165 (1818).
Salzmann, C. G.
Elements of Morality, 29 (1795), 31 (1796), 32 (1796), 104 (1803 or before), 151 (1811).
Schiller, F. von.
The Armenian, 71 (1800?-1803).
Cabal and Love, 92 (1802).

Fiesco, 93 (1802).

The Ghostseer, 33 (1796).

The Harpers Daughter, 152 (1813).

The Robbers, 22 (1793), 94 (1802), 131 (1808?), 181 (1825 or before).

Wallenstein (Piccolomini), 110 (1805).

Schlegel, C. W. F.

Lectures on the History of Literature, 166 (1818).

Select Plays, 95 (1802).

Sonnleithner, J.

The Fortress of Sorrento, [adapted from S.'s Leonore,] 126 (1808).

Spiess, C. H.

The Mountain Cottager, 69 (1800).

Sturm, C. C.

Beauties of Nature, 70 (1800), 81 (1801).

Moral and Natural Philosophy, 38 (1797?).

Reflections, 171 (1821).

Vulpus, C. A.

Rinaldo Rinaldini, [dramatized from V.'s Rinaldo Rinaldini,] 144 (1810).

Wächter, G. P. L. L.

The Black Valley, 82 (1801).

Weber, Veit. Pseudonym for Wächter.

Wieland, C. M.

Oberon, 145 (1810).

Socrates out of his Senses, 36 (1797).

Zimmermann, J. G.

Essay on National Pride, 146 (1799).

Solitude, 23 (1793), 34 (1796), 37 (1797), 105 (1803 or before), 107 (1804), 127 (1808), 153 (1813), 154 (1814), 168 (1819), 187 (n. d.).

Strictures on National Pride, 7 (1778).

Zollikofer, G. J.

Caution against Unchastity, 128 (1808).

Examination of some Principles, 175 (1823).

Exercises of Piety, 101 (1803), 121 (1807).

Sermons on the Dignity of Man, 122 (1807).

Sermons on Education, 136 (1809).

Seven Sermons on the Reformation, 137 (1809).

Zschokke, J. H. D.

Abaellino (drama), 96 (1802), 113 (1806), 170 (1820).

Abaellino (novel), 138 (1809), 139 (1809).

Rugantino, [dramatized from Z.'s Abaellino,] 146 (1810).

Sylvester Eve, 172 (1821).

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